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Wednesday July 29 1998

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# The Guardian

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INTERNATIONAL  
NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

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Nature had it's teeth pulled by the Tories

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## Crisis as Lewinsky changes story

### Clinton faces stark choice

Mark Tran in Washington

**B**ILL Clinton was last night engulfed in a battle to save his presidency as his nemesis, the independent prosecutor Kenneth Starr, announced an immunity deal that would allow the former White House intern Monica Lewinsky to reveal all about her alleged affair with the president.

News of the immunity deal was announced at a short and chaotic press conference outside her lawyer's office in Washington. For her "full and truthful testimony, she will receive transactional immunity in this case," said Plato Cacheris, after a brief meeting with Ms Lewinsky.

Mr Clinton was presented with stark options. He could choose to fight Mr Starr's subpoena for him to testify before a grand jury, a legal battle that would go all the way to the Supreme Court and buy him more time. But such a move could prove politically costly, with the public suspecting that he had something to hide.

Republicans have threatened to start impeachment proceedings should Mr Clinton reject the subpoena and Democrats have urged him to come clean and face the grand jury. Mr Clinton's refusal to testify would damage their November midterm election prospects. At the White House, spokesman Mike McCurry said Mr Clinton was "eager to see this matter resolved".

But in testifying before a grand jury, Mr Clinton could walk into a "perjury trap", where he could trip up on contradictory statements. Mr Clinton would have to reconcile his statements with those of Ms Lewinsky and a host of others that point to his relationship with the former intern.

The only bright spot for Mr Clinton is that he is unlikely to have to testify this week, as Mr Starr had requested, as he has had little time to prepare for questioning.

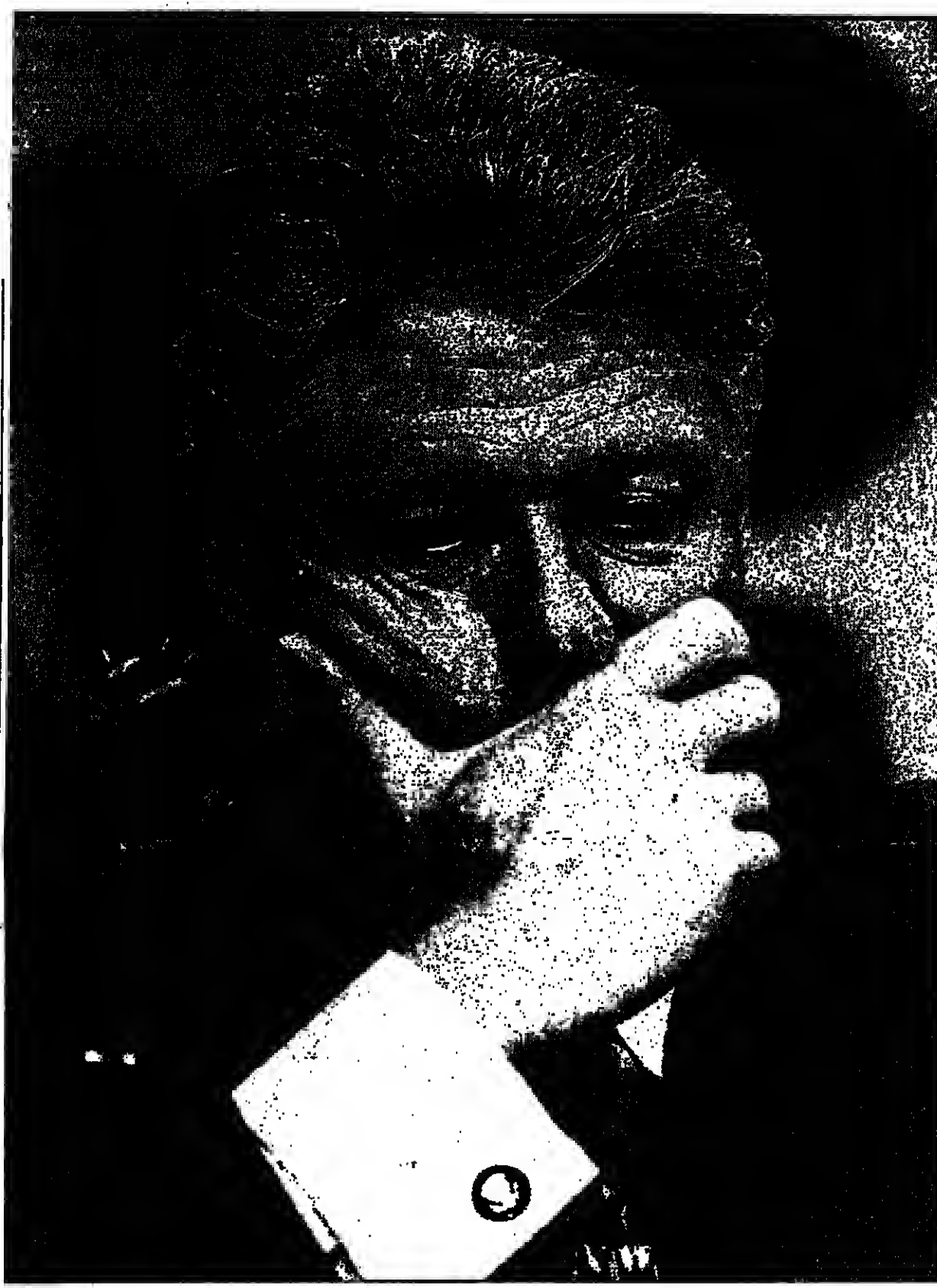
Last night Mr Clinton sought cover by appearing at the White House to receive the subpoena to the White House, a gesture designed to show the full dignity of the office.

Under transactional immunity, Ms Lewinsky will receive blanket immunity so that nothing she says can be used against her, a move that surprised legal experts.

The agreement for Ms Lewinsky's testimony was reached after she was interviewed for five hours on Monday by Mr Starr's prosecutors in New York.

Ms Lewinsky's account tallied with her lawyers' proffer — a pledge to provide specific evidence in exchange for immunity — to prosecutors early in the investigation, according to a key source. In that proffer, Ms Lewinsky was said to have spoken of having a sexual relationship with the president.

She did not say Mr Clinton had asked her to lie, sources



President Clinton: Republicans are threatening to start impeachment proceedings

PHOTOGRAPH: RICK WILKINS

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She did not say Mr Clinton had asked her to lie, sources

said. But Ms Lewinsky will directly contradict Mr Clinton's sworn deposition in that case as well as his forceful denial on television, when he declared: "I did not have sexual relations with that woman."

The Lewinsky agreement came as a shock to the White House, throwing it again into a full-blown crisis.

Supporters of the president tried to put the best spin on the Lewinsky deal, pointing out that she has serious credibility problems after having

boasted of lying all her life. In changing her story, she will invite a certain amount of scepticism.

But Mr Starr has been hounding assiduously for six months to get corroborating evidence from hundreds of other sources. Including secret service agents, leading White House aides and figures such as Linda Tripp, who secretly tape-recorded 17 hours of conversation with Ms Lewinsky.

While the public has been fixated by allegations of Mr

Clinton's affair with Ms Lewinsky, Mr Starr is seeking to show that the president's behaviour afterwards was symptomatic of abuse of power stretching back to his days as governor of Arkansas.

Mr Starr is expected to send a report of several hundred pages to the Republican-controlled Congress, which will have to decide whether to begin impeachment proceedings against a popular incumbent in the White House.

Clinton crisis, page 7

Alan Travis  
Home Affairs Editor

**M**ORE than 22,000 defendants a year are to be stripped of their centuries' old right to trial by jury under official plans which are expected to win the backing of the Home Secretary, Jack Straw.

The reform represents a further blow to Britain's ancient jury system in the wake of plans to abolish jury trials for complex fraud cases. Critics complain it would mark a further stage in the jury being pushed to the margins of the criminal justice system.

Abolition of the right to elect for trial will affect more than 20 per cent of the crown court cases currently tried by judges and juries in England and Wales. They would in future be heard by a bench of magistrates.

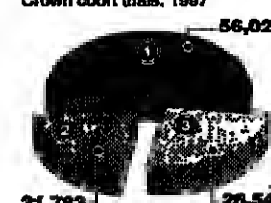
The right for the accused to elect for jury trial covers a wide range of middle-ranking offences, such as theft, handling stolen goods, indecent assault and other offences, some of which are minor but strike at the accused's personal reputation for honesty.

The Lord Chancellor, Lord Irvine, has been pressing for the change for some months to save millions of pounds spent on crown court cases which could be tried in the magistrates' courts. It is estimated that the average cost of a contested jury trial is £13,500, compared with £2,500 for a magistrates' court case.

But until now Mr Straw has blocked change. When the then Home Secretary, Michael Howard, took up the proposal first floated by the Royal Commission on Criminal Justice, Mr Straw in opposition attacked it, saying it was "unfair, short-sighted and likely to prove ineffective".

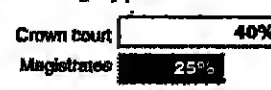
But the Home Secretary has now changed his mind. Last night, announcing a consultation paper outlining options for change, Mr Straw said that an internal Home Office review had shown considerable support for change to the current system. "It is crucial that a full opportunity for the principle for such a change is considered in the interests of justice and efficiency and we welcome views on whether

**Trial by jury**  
Crown court trials, 1997



1 Defendants sent by JPs for jury trial  
2 Defendants opting for jury trial  
3 Serious cases only heard by jury

**Acquittal rates**  
For not guilty pleas



Source: Home Office



any alternative is needed." Officially, no final decision has been made, but it is understood that Mr Straw has dropped his opposition to the reform and it is likely to be included in a new crime bill this autumn.

cluded in a new crime bill this autumn.

The Bar Council last night reiterated its criticism of the reform. "The argument has remained the same since this was last put forward," said spokesman Bruce Holder. "This would take out of the field of jury trial quite a number of serious offences and we do not know how magistrates would exercise their judgment in this matter."

"It is a back door removal of jury trial and would be a further unfortunate inroad into something which is being marginalised all the time."

His opposition was supported by Vicki Chapman of the Legal Action Group, the radical law reform campaign. "The defendant's right to elect to jury trial is one of the most important rights in the criminal justice system. It is a fundamental safeguard not just for the protection of the accused but also to uphold the legitimacy of the whole criminal justice system."

"One of the reasons why people elect to jury trial is that, quite rightly, they have a better chance of acquittal."

Home Office research says this is a major reason for defendants opting for jury trial, coupled with the belief that magistrates "are on the side of the police". But recent official research also shows defendants are mistaken if they elect for jury trial in the hope of getting a lighter sentence.

The consultation paper published yesterday says that there has already been a steady erosion of the defen-

turn to page 3, column 1

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by NICK DAVIS

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Six years in an iron mask walking around the world. Why? See page 2

## Open letter sends warning to Darling

David Grieve, Social Services Correspondent

**M**ORE than 150 leading social policy researchers have endorsed an open letter to Alistair Darling, the new Social Security Secretary, warning that the Government's approach to welfare reform is deeply flawed.

The letter presents the minister with stark evidence of the task he faces in trying to rescue the Government's reform plans with the approval of key opinion-formers in the field.

On his first day in charge of the £100 billion benefits bud-

get, Mr Darling yesterday made plain he was determined to act on reform.

"What I'm saying to you in clear, unequivocal terms, is that the time for talking and discussing is coming to an end," he said in a BBC radio interview. "We now actually need to implement our programmes so that people can see a real difference as a result of what I believe will be one of the most radical governments there has been this century."

But the intervention by many of Britain's best-known social policy academics suggests there needs to be more talk. Commenting on the welfare reform green paper, con-

sultation about which ends on Friday, they say the Government "could do quite a bit better".

The letter was drafted among delegates to the annual conference of the Social Policy Association where, it says, much of the discussion about the green paper was critical. One professor said: "I think the general view was that it was worth something like 2½ out of 10."

The green paper was drawn up by Frank Field, the former minister for welfare reform who resigned from the Government on Monday when Harriet Harman, the former social security secretary, was

sacked. Their departures sparked speculation that the reform agenda was dead.

John Denham, the former junior social security minister, was yesterday promoted to minister of state level. He will take over Mr Field's welfare reform brief and keep his responsibility for pensions.

The academics' letter questions the Government's emphasis on the duty of benefit claimants to find paid work, in the absence of any duty of employers and government to provide jobs.

It also points to the "worrying absence" from the green paper of any strategy for those unable to work and of an overall strategy for social

security as a whole. Referring to the conference debate, the letter says: "As one participant pointed out, black people appear on the green paper's cover — but are absent from the text."

Further criticism of the Government's welfare policies came yesterday from the Commons education and employment committee. It said it supported the aims of the New Deal for lone parents, helping them off benefit and into work, but ministers had underestimated the importance of education and training in improving career prospects.

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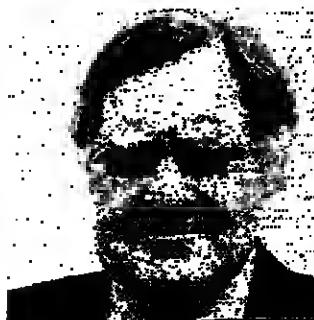
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## In G2 today: The right-wing pundits with views for sale

+ Francis Wheen + Real Lives + Arts + Parents + Society + European Weather

### Sketch

## Scary stuff at the House party



Gary Younge

There is nothing so scary as MPs on drugs. Not only do they lose command of all their rational faculties, shouting banalities and waving their arms around with superhuman indignation as if their reelection depended on it, but awful things start to happen to their short-term memories too.

They keep standing up, sitting down and then standing up again, repeating themselves endlessly and forgetting the question someone has just asked them and so simply answering another one for which they have conveniently prepared.

Health minister Tessa Jowell had led them astray. Following a question about smoking-related illness, she referred to the detrimental effect of cannabis on the nation's health.

Just the very word sent Labour MPs into fits of giggles. They pointed at her Conservative shadow, Alan Duncan. In the hardback edition of his book *Saturn's Children*, Duncan had advocated the legalisation of all drugs. By the time the paperback had come out he had removed all mention of legalisation. From his ever-reddening face and lowered demeanour it was clear that he was still struggling with withdrawal symptoms.

Paul Flynn (Lab, Newport West) told them all to grow up. When he asked, would the Government stop forcing those in pain who took cannabis for medicinal purposes to break the law and buy their painkillers on the black market?

Flynn, in the vernacular of the ecstasy generation, was freaking everyone out. Some were beginning to get paranoid. When a Tory tried to change the subject by lambasting Frank Dobson, the Health

Secretary, for appointing a woman to Shropshire health authority and for using the "socialist stronghold of Telford" to pack the board with leftwingers it was clear things were getting heavy.

Mr Dobson said Betty Boothroyd, the Speaker, was 100 per cent woman. The giggling started again. Woodstock had nothing on this.

The Tories were so out of it they clearly could not recall the devastation they had inflicted on the National Health Service. Their front bench strode in looking like the cast of *Reservoir Dogs*, a substantial shadow health secretary, Ann Widdecombe, leading the way, flanked by the small but doughty Mr Duncan and a tall and wispy Philip Hammond (C, Runnymede and Weybridge).

They desperately wanted Labour to admit that they must have been on something when they pledged to increase the number of doctors in the NHS.

"Is it true that the extra 7,000 doctors promised will not represent a rise over and above the national increase which would have occurred anyway?" Miss Widdecombe asked. She then sat down and started talking to herself.

The Labour benches snorted their disapproval. Mr Dobson, continually and apparently uncontrollably rocking to and fro at the despatch box, unaided by musical accompaniment, was having trouble making himself understood. Full sentences as grammarians usually understand them were not coming easily. It looked like he wanted to say: "No, I don't think so," but, with mind and mouth not working fully in unison, it came out as something like: "I have no idea but whatever we're doing could never be as bad as what you did."

It took Virginia Bottomley (C, Surrey South West), whose time as health secretary must seem like a really bad trip, to make this clear. She shot up at the first opportunity and asked whether "naming and shaming" hospitals was not "stifling innovation".

The Labour benches roared. Thetford was clearly the only party worth going to. Mrs Bottomley, not for the first time, had really rocked the house.

## Cancer scare for 1,000

Women face two-month wait for clearance after alert over hospital smear test procedures

Sarah Boseley  
Health Correspondent

EMERGENCY clinics are to be held at St George's Hospital in Tooting, south London, so that 1,036 women who may be at risk from cervical cancer can be seen by specialists within eight weeks.

There is particular concern for the women's health because the failures uncovered at the hospital have occurred at a later stage than basic smear test screening when pre-cancerous changes were already suspected.

All the women recalled have at some time in the past had a smear test which appeared to show the cell

changes which indicate a potential cancer. Sometime between 1993 and 1995, they were referred for a colposcopy examination to Graham Barker, a senior medical officer at the hospital, who has now taken voluntary leave of absence until after the recall.

Mr Barker's examinations are now in question. An independent inquiry found that 12 out of 19 of his patients who developed cancer were not well managed. Eight of the cases were deemed unacceptable, and in one of them, a woman died.

Problems with Mr Barker's techniques were spotted by a consultant gynaecologist, Desmond Barton, who joined the hospital two years ago. After disagreements between the two specialists, indepen-

dent experts were called in to look at cases which particularly worried Mr Barker.

Colposcopy is the microscopic examination of the cervix to confirm that the cell changes seen in the lab have taken place. Guidelines put out by the NHS Cervical Screening Programme in 1995 say that in almost every case, a biopsy or tissue sample should be sent for analysis.

Mr Barker claimed that Mr Barker did not take enough biopsies. He also criticised the loop excision by which cancerous cells are removed — Mr Barker's excision was too shallow, he claimed.

Under half the women recalled — 470 — did not have a biopsy, while the rest — 566 — were given a loop excision by Mr Barker. The St George's Healthcare NHS Trust has reviewed 5,000 cases treated by Mr Barker in the 10 years that he has been responsible for colposcopies and terminations of pregnancy at the hospital, but de-

cided no recall was necessary for the rest.

An extra four consultants are being called in so that the hospital can hold 12 clinics a week, seeing 10 women in each clinic. It is hoped that all those who can be traced will be seen within two months.

Andrew Dillon, chief executive of the hospital, warned that other hospitals in the NHS needed help to review their services. He expressed his regret about the anxiety that the recall would cause, but was confident the hospital was doing the right thing.

The hospital authorities said that since introduction of the colposcopy guidelines in 1996, Mr Barker had complied with them.

Jane Johnson, chairman of the British Society for Colposcopy and Clinical Cytology, said the guidelines covered every aspect of colposcopy examinations and that all doctors accredited to carry them out must now undergo regular audit.

### Under the microscope

MOST cervical cancer scares and scandals have had their origin in the cytology lab where smear test slides are read. But this is not the case at St George's Hospital, writes Sarah Boseley.

The biggest cervical cancer scandal was at Kent and Canterbury Hospital, where 90,000 women were recalled in 1996 for new smears. At least eight women died needlessly and many others developed cancer and had to undergo hysterectomies.

An inquiry found there had been failures at almost every level, from the screeners in the labs who view slides every day under the microscope to the consultants and managers who were supposed to oversee and supervise their work.

But at St George's the problem arose at the next

tier up from the smear test. Women whose slides show cell changes that predict cancer are referred for a colposcopy. This is an examination of the cervix, using a microscope, to see if the suspect cells can be detected in situ.

Whether or not a doctor finds abnormal cells, best practice now dictates that they should perform a biopsy — remove a piece of tissue for analysis in the lab. If there are abnormal cells, the doctor should first remove them by a LEEP or loop excision, which slices away a small part of the cervix where they are located. The biopsy should then show that no cancerous cells are left.

Guidelines say the patient should be recalled six months later for a further smear test, to check that abnormal cells have gone.

## Thetford unmasks its globe trotting man with a pram

John Ezard

THE historically eventful town of Thetford, Norfolk, discovered its very own Man in the Iron Mask yesterday.

He is Harry Bensley, who spent more than six years walking across the world in a full-faced, armoured helmet, pushing an Edwardian pram, with only £1 in his pocket.

His goal was to circumnavigate the Earth, earning his bread by selling postcards of himself, and win a £100,000 bet with a millionaire. The bet with a millionaire, the American banker John Pierpont Morgan, imposed a condition: he must find a wife during the journey while never removing the mask.

Setting off on January 1, 1908, he ran into a lurid life in Bexley Heath, Kent. He was arrested for selling his postcards without a hawk's licence. However, magistrates were sympathetic when told his story. They let him keep his mask on in court. He was fined 2s 6d (12½p).

Bensley, a mousy-looking little man, didn't find a wife, though he claimed to have had 200 marriage proposals. He trundled through England, Ireland, Canada, the United



All in a day's work: the perambulating Harry Bensley on his masked global circuit in search of a wife

States, China, Japan, India, Persia, Egypt, Turkey and the Balkans.

The made-to-measure helmet weighed 4lb 6oz. After some 30,000 miles, he was well on the way to winning a sum north of at least £1.5 million at today's prices. Then, on August 14, 1914, as he reached Genoa — Morgan ratted on the bargain.

The first world war had broken out. Morgan, founder of the US Steel Corporation, is thought to have become wor-

ried about the value of his assets. A discomfited Bensley returned to Thetford by ship and is not known to have gone abroad again.

His thinly chronicled exploit came to light when Oliver Bone, curator of the Ancient House Museum, began researching civic personalities while compiling a heritage strategy for the town.

"Tom Paine, author of the Rights of Man, was born there. Boudicca had connections. The Danish king

Sweyn Forkbeard was twice defeated there. The Cluniacs, a reformed Benedictine order, built a priory in the town, where Charles Burrell built his steam engine empire. But Harry Bensley's far-reaching adventure beats them all.

"It really did happen. Now we are trying to find out more," Mr Bone said. Among facts yet to be unearthed are: was sleeping difficult, how did he shave, did his neck hurt? The chief evidence is Bensley's postcards of himself

plus a 1970s magazine article. But his family also remembers him.

"It's not made up," his great-niece Angela Salzman, aged 66, said last night. "I heard all about him from my mother. Someone said he was a chancer and my mother used to say he was a rogue."

Bensley is said to have made the bet at a London club "over a few brandies". Little is known about how he came to be moving in such circles or about how he made his living.

"He probably lived on his wits," Mrs Salzman said. After his disappointment, he joined the army and survived the war. He married a Yorkshire woman and became a councillor at Wivenhoe, Essex, dying in Brighton in 1970.

According to legend, Morgan paid him \$4,000 in compensation, which Bensley claimed to have given to charity, although in Thetford he is not remembered as a generous man.

### Review

## A winding road to recognition

Tim Ashley

Prophets  
The Proms, Royal Albert Hall

KURT Weill's *Prophets*, receiving its UK premiere, is a remarkable musical response to Nazi anti-Semitism, a moving assertion of fundamental human dignity in the face of atrocity.

Its history is complex. It was conceived as the concluding section of a theatrical epic, *Der Weg zur Verheissung* (The Road To What Is Promised), commissioned from the exiled director Max Reinhardt in 1933.

Reinhardt, allowed a free choice of composer and librettist by his Zionist backers, opted to work with Weill and the novelist Franz Werfel, both of whose lives had been wrecked by the emergence of Nazism, though the attitudes of both men towards Zionism remained equivocal to the end. Planned with the Albert Hall in mind, *Der Weg zur Verheissung* did not reach the stage until 1937, when it was premiered in New York as *The Eternal Road*. *Prophets*, by this time, had been dropped from the scheme on the grounds that the piece was too long.

The score was subsequently reconstructed by a Weill scholar, David Drew, and the premiere took place in Israel this year.

It packs a formidable punch. The dramatic structure is simple but subtle. A persecuted Jewish community, somewhere in Europe (Nazi Germany is not specified), takes refuge in a synagogue, comforted by their rabbi who reads from the Torah. Among the refugees is a 13-year-old boy and his father, who doubts both his

faith and his identity. As the political threat intensifies, the rabbi's readings are enacted in a series of pageant-like scenes in the imagination of the father and son.

The climactic point is the ideal of Israel at peace with the other nations of the world, but its certainty is undercut by pounding on the synagogue doors as the persecutors finally arrive.

The boy and his father, now both confirmed in their faith, wait in the terrifying silence with which the piece ends, for the nightmare to follow. (Werfel, who wrote his text in 1934, foresaw, unlike many at the time, the threat of genocide.) Weill's score peers backwards and forwards through both German and Jewish musical history. Its structure echoes Bach's *Passions*. Traditional Jewish melodies weave their way plangently through the texture. There are whiffs of Schönberg in the harmony, while the vast mystic choruses derive from Mahler's Eighth Symphony. There are also hints of the later Weill, the creator of Broadway shows.

The premiere was conducted with fierce commitment by Matthias Bamert and played and sung with amazing intensity by the BBC Symphony and Chorus. The solo contributions were variable — Weill's vocal writing is cruelly taxing — which led to the occasional moment of strain, particularly on the part of Albert Dohmen. In the key role of Jeremiah.

It is not a work which ideally adapts itself to the concert format, though this impressive semi-staging by David Edwards — complete with angels and prophets materialising in the tiers above the chorus — testified to its theatrical potential.

## Alton appointed Observer editor

Janine Gibson  
Media Correspondent

ROGER Alton, features editor of the Guardian, was yesterday appointed editor of the *Observer*.

Alton, aged 50, who has worked for the Guardian for 24 years, takes up his new role immediately. The announcement was made by the Scott Trust, owner of the Guardian Media Group that publishes both the Guardian and the *Observer*.

Will Hutton, editor of the *Observer* for the past 24 years, becomes editor-in-chief of the Sunday newspaper and will remain a writer and columnist. The author of *The State We're In*, Hutton is understood to have requested the change to his role on the paper. Following the runaway success of *The State We're In*, he has several book projects planned. Jocelyn Targett, deputy editor of the *Observer*, resigned from the paper yesterday. A GMM spokeswoman said Alton would appoint a replacement.

Alton joined the Guardian from the Liverpool Post in 1974 and became chief news sub-editor, and in 1985 was



Alton: 24 years at Guardian

appointed deputy sports editor. He was subsequently arts editor and the Weekend Guardian editor before becoming features editor in 1993. Since then he has been responsible for several successful projects, including the Friday Review, the Media Guardian and development of the G2 tabloid section.

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'I am glad that this ordeal is now over. I have always maintained that I did not kill my wife'

David Ryan James after the Court of Appeal hearing yesterday



David Ryan James (right) and his brother Keith outside the High Court yesterday after his conviction was quashed

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW STUART



Mr James's second wife Catherine (left), whom he married in prison, his first wife Sandra, whose suicide led to his being charged with her murder, and (below) the house in Burton upon Trent where the couple lived



# The note that ended a life sentence

In 1995 a vet was jailed for killing his wife. Yesterday he walked free, reports Duncan Campbell

**A**VET jailed for life for killing his wife was freed yesterday after fresh evidence pointed to her committing suicide in such a way as to implicate him with her murder. In a further twist, his release was based on the chance find of his wife's suicide note by the woman for whom he had left her. David Ryan James, aged 43, from Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire, had his conviction for the murder of his wife, Sandra, quashed at the Court of Appeal on the grounds that it was unsafe. He was jailed for life in May 1995 and was described by the trial judge as an "evil, selfish and criminally callous man" after allegedly poisoning his wife with a powerful horse anaesthetic hidden in her orange juice. Outside the court yesterday, Mr James, supported by his father, Ruff, and two brothers, expressed his relief at the decision and his thanks to those who had supported him. "While the circumstances surrounding this case are deeply tragic," he said in a statement, "I am glad that the truth has been established and that Sandra is now free from the burden of this case. I have always maintained that I did not kill her and I am pleased that the court has found this to be the case. I have expressed my thanks to the BBC programme Rough

Justice, which had featured his case, and to the crown counsel for not contesting the appeal or seeking a retrial.

Mr James was convicted at Stafford crown court of killing his wife, with whom he had three children, and trying to make her death look like suicide. He had left her for a close family friend, Catherine Crooks, whom he has since married in Gartree prison and who was in court yesterday.

He and his late wife had met Mrs Crooks, who also has three children, through the local parent-teacher association. His wife had been deeply upset by the end of the marriage and her weight dropped from 12 stone to six. He said that he had been told by a friend that Mrs Crooks had been having an affair with another man, and he had been told that she had been having an affair with another man. He said that he had been told that she had been having an affair with another man, and he had been told that she had been having an affair with another man.

insurance. It was also suggested that he had injected his wife with the sedative phenobarbitone and had tried to make her death look like suicide. Jailing him, Mr Justice Hidden told him that he should serve at least 20 years.

**'Ryan, I leave you absolutely nothing but this note — if you find it in time'**

for a "diabolical plot" which involved his wife's memory. He appealed unsuccessfully in March 1996.

Mr James could have stayed in jail for the next 17 years had it not been for a twist in the story that might have come from the pages of a D James or Ruth Rendell

mystery. While clearing out his office, the new Mrs James was flicking through old copies of the veterinary journal, In Practice, before disposing of them. From a section of the magazine about horses, Mr James's speciality, fell a note. It read:

"Ryan, I leave you absolutely nothing but this note — if you find it in time, Sam (his first wife's pet name)." The note chimed with the will which Sandra James had written and which had said: "To my husband Ryan, I leave absolutely nothing. I loved you and lost you. I will

never forget." Scientific tests indicated that the new note had been written only nine days before she died.

The note was duly passed to Mr James's lawyers and the case was then reviewed by the Criminal Cases Review Commission, which referred it back to the Court of Appeal.

Yesterday Colman Treacy QC, for Mr James, said: "It is simply impossible to contemplate a woman writing a suicide note and her husband conspiring to murder her." Such a scenario was untenable and incredible, he said.

For the Crown, Peter Joyce QC said: "The Crown has a duty not just to its own side but to justice." The discovery of the note rendered the conviction unsafe, and the Crown would not contest the appeal nor seek a retrial.

Consultant psychiatrist Nigel Eastman told the court that it was likely that the first Mrs James suffered from a de-

pressive illness. There was a substantial likelihood that she had relapsed into a clinical depression shortly before her death, he said.

Granting the appeal, Lord Justice Evans, sitting with Mr Justice Sedley and Mr Justice Hooper, said that reasons for the judgment would be delivered later.

Mr James says he will not return to his veterinary practice but will seek a new career.

"I am still on the register but my feelings at the moment are that I'm willing to look at any form of employment," he told the SAC programme. By Ar Bedwar in an interview to be broadcast tonight. "It's not that I've lost interest but I've lost my faith in people, possibly because of the way I feel the practice treated me and because of that I'm going to look for a total change." He said his initial months

in prison had been "horrendous" but he had gradually adapted and had not been treated badly. "I feel my personality has changed," he said.

As regards the remarks addressed to him by the judge at his trial, he said: "I felt empty. What worried me most was the effect this would have on my family, friends and children, for them to be told something that wasn't true."

Euan Smith, Mr James's lawyer, said that it had been a lucky stroke that had led to Mr James's freedom. It was the fifth case to be referred back to the Court of Appeal by the CCR, which was formed last year. Judgment is due to be delivered tomorrow in another case referred back by the commission, that of Derek Bentley, hanged nearly 50 years ago for murder of a policeman.

## Pro-Europeans move up as Blair ends reshuffle

Michael White Political Editor

**T**ONY Blair last night wrapped up his first government reshuffle with a series of junior appointments which saw pro-European politicians placed in posts at which crucial decisions on the single currency will be made in the years ahead. As a further gesture to modernity, three of the Class of '97 newcomers got ministerial posts, including two of Neil Kinnock's most trusted aides, the cerebral rivals Charles Clarke and Patricia Hewitt, the latter one of a clutch of new women ministers. Overall, four ministers were promoted yesterday, nine moved to new jobs and seven dropped. Twelve were new appointments. The promotion of Peter Mandelson, instead of the more sceptical Margaret Beckett, to head the Department of Trade and Industry was reinforced by the transfer of the equally enthusiastic former MEP Joyce Quin from the Home Office to be minister for Europe in Robin

Cook's Foreign Office team. In a pattern which marked the Prime Minister's two-day reshuffle, Ms Quin's predecessor, Doug Henderson, a lieutenant of Gordon Brown, was moved sideways to the Ministry of Defence in the way that Nick Brown, the Brownite chief whip, was moved from the nerve centre of government operations to the relatively tranquil pastures of the Ministry of Agriculture. The deputy chief whip, George Mudie, was also removed. He hands his job to former social security minister Keith Bradley, and takes on a post at education and employment. After a turbulent year, four whips are promoted to junior ministerial posts — Lord Whitty to environment and transport, Janet Anderson to culture, Jon Owen Jones to the Welsh Office and John McFall to Northern Ireland. Such moves reflect Mr Blair's growing confidence in the exercise of power in office. The retention of Geoffrey Robinson as Farm Minister, despite the sustained Tory-led campaign against his business deal-

ings, also showed a determination not to be bullied by the media as John Major was.

There were rumours of a row over that decision. But the wealthy Mr Robinson is regarded as a vital, problem-solving asset by Gordon Brown and is also close to Mr Blair. In this instance their wishes coincide. Tony Lloyd, the Foreign Office minister caught up in the Sandline affair and acquitted by a subsequent inquiry, was also spared, against the bookies' odds of a month ago.

The fears of Eurosceptic Tory MPs were further excited by the announcement that Lord Sainsbury, the philanthropist and grocer, will join the DTL team in an unpaid capacity. That amounts to an extra pair of hands which might be used to drive the single currency campaign among businessmen. "It's a very clear signal that Blair wants to join a single currency," the shadow trade secretary, John Redwood, protested. "Big business for Blair, big business for a single currency," he said. Labour MPs also noted that Lord Sainsbury joining the former BP chief Lord Simon,

both in unpaid ministerial office, amounted to a stronger business axis at the DTL.

Suggestions that the DTL is virtually being privatised as an agency of business interests were offset by the transfer of the chipper, English radical, Brian Wilson, a Mandelson ally in the 1997 election team, from the Scottish Office to be trade minister.

Yesterday's media coverage was favourable to Downing Street, albeit at the expense of Mr Brown, and the Opposition has been hard-pressed to find an effective target, apart from renewed attacks on Mr Robinson by the shadow chancellor Francis Maude. But it was notable that Mr Blair's Edinburgh friends and neighbours had prospered. Lord Falconer came from nowhere on the strength of his personal ties. Margaret Hodge, until yesterday co-chairwoman of the Commons education select committee, is a former leader of Islington council, and lived a few doors from the Blairs until they moved to SW1.

Politics, page 2; Analysis, page 1-1; Nigel Griffiths, page 5

## Cutback in right to trial by jury set to win Straw's support

continued from page one

One recent change has been

implementation of the Criminal Procedure and Investigations Act, which insists that the defendant must plead before a decision is made.

Officials say it is possible that some defendants who plead guilty have conceded that they will receive a substantially heavier sentence in the crown court.

The Home Office consultation paper published yesterday outlines four main options, including keeping the status quo. They include outright abolition.

A second option proposes that some offences, such as minor thefts, should be reclassified as triable only by magistrates. A cut-off point

for thefts below £100 would transfer 2,000 cases from the crown to the magistrates' court.

A third option would be to deny the right to elect to anyone who had similar previous convictions to the charges faced, on the grounds that they no longer had an unblemished record to defend.

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'Kathryn Hunter has that driven quality that you get in so many successful women, which either takes them to the pinnacle of their careers or the point of nervous breakdown.'

Lyn Gardner

G2 page 8

Someone told you that you could make your mortgage repayments whenever you could afford it. What would you say?

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Security firm faces new fines

# Hostages and riots at newest private jail

Alan Travis  
Home Affairs Editor

**B** RITAIN's first hi-tech private prison has had two suicides, eight mini-riots and two officers taken hostage before its official opening by the Princess Royal tomorrow.

This catalogue of problems at the Securicor-run Parc prison, near Bridgend, South Wales, is revealed today in a Whitehall memorandum to MPs by the director general of the Prison Service, Richard Tilt. He discloses that the private security company, which was fined £24,000 this year for failings at Parc, is facing a further bill of £21,915 for "incidents in May and for failure to meet minimum standards in February to April".

Securicor recruits top men after new prison problems 'caused by a lack of leadership'

Princess Anne will perform the official opening ceremony at the £286 million prison in the company of Mr Tilt. The director general confirms in his letter that the first "keyless" prison has had to issue keys to some staff because of problems with the computer-controlled locking system and because inmates have been able to tamper with the locks to prevent them working.

He also reveals that a group of young black teenage offenders transferred to the jail from Feltham, west London, faced such racist abuse that they had to be moved out of the prison. The director general acknowledges that opening any prison is a difficult and sensitive undertaking.

But he goes on to paint a sharper contrast between the "greater than expected number of incidents at Parc with the opening of Group 4's latest jail, Fazakerley, on

Merseyside, which he says has been a success over the same period.

There has been only one incident at the Group 4 prison. Some 68 inmates refused to go to their cells in February but the incident was resolved peacefully within three hours.

MPs on the Commons public accounts committee (PAC) have been told that there were too few staff employed at Parc when it opened in November and the custody officers lacked experience in managing prisoners.

"There were problems caused by a lack of leadership, with senior management failing to address issues in a consistent and sustained manner. There have been two changes of director and one of the deputy director," Mr Tilt said.

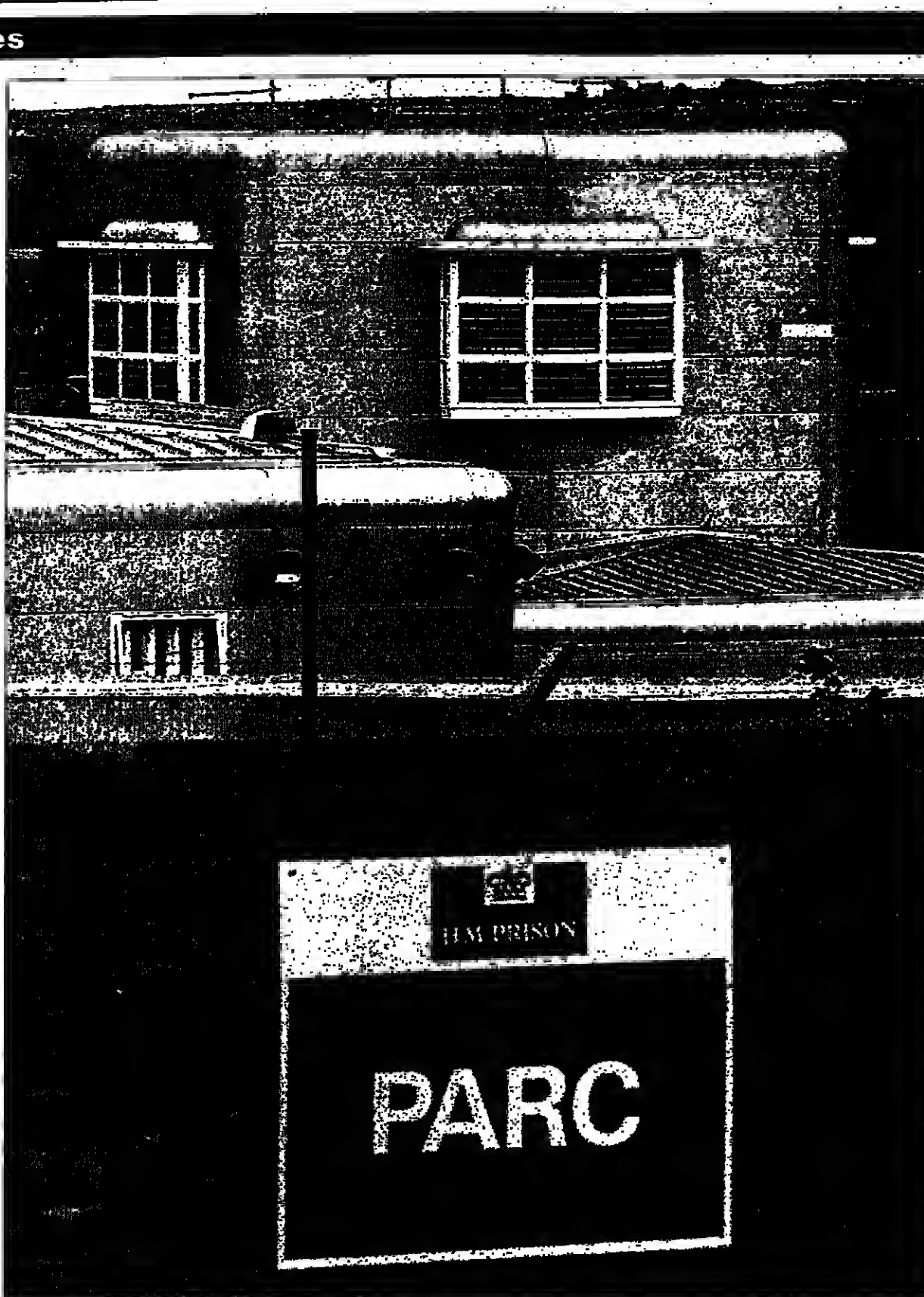
Securicor has now recruited a highly experienced former governor of Bristol prison and secured the services of the deputy governor of Channings Wood prison in Kent in an attempt to solve the problems at the jail. Staff numbers have also been increased.

The PAC inquiry into the two private prison contracts concludes that the Securicor and Costain consortium bid to build and run Parc is likely to save about £53 million, and criticises the Government for not awarding them the Merseyside contract for which they were the lowest bidders.

The MPs also say they are concerned that the Prison Service did not examine closely Securicor's proposals for staffing and running the prison despite their lack of experience.

David Davis, the PAC chairman, said it could not be right that some of the costs of sorting out the operational difficulties at Parc had fallen on the public prison system.

He also said he was very concerned to discover that there was a ceiling of 5 per cent of the contract price on the financial penalties that can be levied on private prison companies for failing to deliver what they had promised.



Securicor's Parc private prison, the first hi-tech establishment, where keyless doors need keys PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFF MORRIS

## Inside story

**November 27:** Self-inflicted death of David Jenkins.

**December 25:** 30 young inmates refuse to return to cells.

**December 26:** 20 adults

refuse to return to cells.

**December 27:** 17 young inmates barricade and smash up cell.

**February 16:** 40 young inmates refuse to lock up. Cells smashed.

**February 20:** Concerted

indiscipline. Riot squad on stand-by.

**March 8:** Hostage incident involving two officers.

**April 18:** 33 young inmates stage mini-riot in exercise yard. Cells damaged.

**May 5:** Self-inflicted death of Dallas Lee.

**May 6:** Mini-riot involving 40 inmates. Staff forced to withdraw.

**May 13:** Prisoner released in error.

**May 14:** Mini-riot involving 30 inmates.

**May 20:** Search for gun after intelligence reports.

## News in brief

### Firefighter jailed for hoax calls

A FIREFIGHTER was jailed for six months at Liverpool crown court yesterday for making hoax 999 calls to help his colleagues qualify for overtime payments.

Paul Roberts, aged 32, was involved in a money-making racket in the Merseyside brigade in which hoax calls were made towards the end of shift so firefighters would get an hour's overtime. The brigade has launched an investigation.

### Missing satellite found

SOHO, the \$500 million sun-watching satellite lost in space, has been found a million miles from Earth by a search operation using the world's biggest radio telescope. Soho — Solar and Heliospheric Observatory — went missing in June as it hovered at a point in space where the sun's gravitational force and Earth's are equal.

US scientists using a 305 metre telescope managed to transmit a signal to the 10 metre satellite, locate its echo and track it for more than an hour. — *Tim Radford*

### Sex offender on hunger strike

A CONVICTED sex offender who sparked an inquiry into alleged paedophile activity at the Ashworth top security hospital has started a hunger strike. It was confirmed yesterday.

Stephen Daggart, aged 37, transferred to Rampton hospital in Nottinghamshire after making the allegations in September 1996, has been refusing food and water since Monday. He is understood to be protesting at delays in his move to a medium security unit.

### Police to get CS spray

A DECISION by the Merseyside police chief constable to issue CS spray to all officers at Liverpool and Everton matches has been greeted with fury by local councillors. They have asked the Home Secretary to instruct Sir James Shipley to tell the clubs they had the choice of officers carrying the spray or matches not being policed at all.

### Concern at 'offensive' ads

THE public is becoming increasingly concerned with the use of swearing, rude gestures and drug references in advertising, according to a report yesterday by the Advertising Standards Authority.

Research showed growing public alarm at the way both men and women were portrayed as sex objects and, "simply showing gays and lesbians" in advertisements. The majority of people said they were offended if an advertisement or billboard was not deemed suitable for children. Almost one in five people replied that advertisements which were a bad example to children or which were in the wrong place were offensive.

### Bianca Jagger tells of ordeal

BIANCA Jagger, former wife of Rolling Stones frontman Mick Jagger, told a committee of MPs yesterday how she was held at gunpoint and interrogated by Serbian forces during a recent visit to Kosovo. She accused the international community of failing the oppressed Albanian community in the region.

The human rights campaigner and senior figure with Amnesty International USA was travelling with a crew from BBC2's Newsnight at the time of the incident, when they were forced at gunpoint to a former factory now used as a military base, and questioned by Serb soldiers.

### Prince backs organic farmers

THE Prince of Wales yesterday backed farmers who turn to organic methods to stave off the rural economic crisis. At the end of his four-day annual summer tour of Wales, the prince met farmers whose environmentally-friendly methods are helping them survive.

## Big names fail to top the shortlist for Mercury music prize

Dan Glatzer  
Arts Correspondent

**O**ASIS, the Spice Girls, All Saints — none of them made it on to the Mercury Music Prize shortlist yesterday, despite all having released eligible — and in some quarters acclaimed — albums in the last year.

Instead the nominations were headed by the group that has dominated the past 12 months, The Verve. The 12-strong list for the best British or Irish album of the year was rounded out with contributions from a selection of the new and the not so new. Robbie Williams's brand of showbiz pop gets this year's Spice vote. Massive Attack represents the gloom merchants and Catatonia the unlikely popsters.

And Mercury veterans Pulp make some sort of history with a nomination for their third album *This Is Hardcore*, thus becoming the only band nominated for all its albums. Pulp won the £20,000 prize in 1996 with *Different Class*.

Presenting the shortlist the chairman of the judges, Simon Frith, was in upbeat mood: "These albums of the year reveal a new landscape — multi-musical, multi-cultural, ever fascinating and exciting. Take no notice of the doom-sayers. British music is alive and well."

Dismissing the absence of Oasis from the list — their album *Be Here Now* sold 700,000 copies in three days last summer and has been credited by the BFI with having a "dramatic effect" on album sales figures — Mr Frith said: "We don't sit down and work out how many records have been sold. We sit down and listen to records."

Last year was pivotal for the Mercury Music Prize, which this year is sponsored by Technics, but retains the Mercury title despite the disappearance of the Mercury brand name following its

takeover by Cable & Wireless. Drum and bass artist Roni Size and Rezz won last year's prize, raising the profile of that musical form and winning kudos for promoting mainstream acts.

"Last year showed us the outside world that the prize can be very powerful, which I don't think the judges realised," said Mr Frith. "I suppose it helped change the record companies' attitudes to their acts. People don't listen to music according to genres in any strict sense."

"It's not ludicrous to think that if you like Robbie Williams you might like John Surman — because I do. The Mercury prize has always said to people, you can listen to music in this way."

One of the surprises on the list is the inclusion of Pulp's *This Is Hardcore*, a poor seller widely reviled by critics on its release. Mr Frith accused critics of misunderstanding the album.

"Popular music is a form in which you can do something and say things that used to be said in novels in another age," said Mr Frith.

The token folk singer on the list, Eliza Carthy, follows in the footsteps of her mother, Norma Waterson, who was nominated two years ago. Her father is the folk singer Martin Carthy.

But despite the pedigree she is unlikely to win the prize, at least according to the bookmakers. Carthy was ranked as an outsider at 16/1, while The Verve were immediately installed as 2/1 favourites.

The newest name on the list is Gomez, a five-piece band from Sheffield, whose album *Bring It On* was submitted as a demo tape to a record company. "They are extremely young but sound like they've been playing for 20 years in an American bar," said Mr Frith.

The winner will be announced on September 16 and broadcast on BBC Radio 1 and in a TV special on BBC2.



Michael Ashcroft of The Verve

## The shortlist

Shortlist with judges' comments:

**Asian Dub Foundation: Ruff's Revenge**  
"A passionate, political album that is explosive and thrilling." Odds: 9/1.

**Cornelabop: When I Was Born for the 7th Time**  
"Brims with wit and embraces an unexpected range of sounds." Odds: 10/1.

**4-Herz: Two Pages**  
"A rhythmic framework within which harmonic textures drift and mesh to form a compelling

musical soundscape." Odds: 16/1.

**John Surman: Proverbs and Songs**  
"Startling combination of choir, church organ and saxophone, recorded live in Salisbury Cathedral. Dramatic meeting of the secular and the sacred." Odds: 16/1.

**Robbie Williams: Life Thru a Lens**  
"Showcase for a great entertainer. Williams seizes the day with his solo debut." Odds: 8/1.

**Eliza Carthy: Red Rice**  
Her "voice and playing blow like

a breath of fresh air through English folk and dance music." Odds: 16/1.

**Catatonia: International Velvet**  
"Radiant and charismatic, Cerys Matthews draws us in with Welsh lyricism and lights up this quirky, adventurous set of songs with her extraordinary voice." Odds: 6/1.

**The Verve: Urban Hymns**  
"A soundtrack to the year. Songs that never lose their power and emotional impact." Odds: 2/1.

**Massive Attack: Mezzanine**  
"Deep, powerful, brooding, dis-

turbing and beautiful." Odds: 5/1.

**Gomez: Bring It On**  
"Intriguing blend of swamp blues, bar-room rock and eerie power. Stunning debut." Odds: 9/1.

**Pulp: This Is Hardcore**  
"Brave and brilliant, this reconfirms Cocker's notion that pop music can ask awkward questions." Odds: 12/1.

**Propellerheads: Decksandrumsandrocknroll**  
"Lives up to its name with panache, humour and energy." Odds: 12/1.

## Hi-tech trimaran to be built as frigate of future

Tim Radford  
Science Editor

**B** RITISH scientists yesterday unveiled what they claim is the first radical change in naval vessel design since the 16th century.

They are to build a £13 million, 90 metre trimaran to be tested at the warship of the future. The research vessel Triton will be a far cry from the sleek racing destroyer of the second world war. It will have a long, slim hull and two outrigger floats to support a platform broad enough to be a helicopter landing pad.

It will be built by Vosper Thornycroft of Southampton, will begin trials in 2000 and will be a test vehicle for the electric-powered stealth warship of the future.

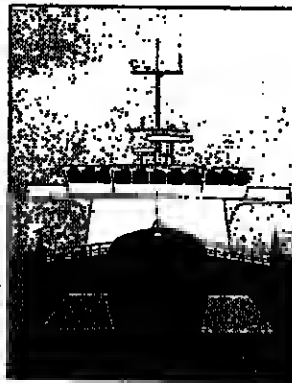
Naval scientists in the US will join in the trials, and allies in Europe and Australia have already expressed interest.

John Chisholm, chief executive of Dera, the government defence research agency, said the design was the most radical step since the Koreans went to war against Japan in the 16th century with the first frigate.

The planning began at University College London five years ago and shifted to models in test tanks at the agency's laboratory.

But it would take a two-thirds scale prototype at least a winter at sea in the North Atlantic to convince admiralties and governments that the future had three hulls.

The trimaran would offer more deck space for helicopters, hangars and weapons. It would be more stable in stormy seas, and its radar systems could be mounted higher and thus more effectively. Naval architects would experiment with designs to make the ship harder to detect by radar or infra-red cameras. It would offer 20 per cent less resistance as it raced



A sketch of the £13m research vessel Triton head on.

through the sea, permitting either higher speeds or greater fuel saving.

"A long thin hull is basically more efficient. That is exactly why second world war destroyers looked like pencils," said Mr Chisholm. "The problem with your pencil of course is that it tends to tip sideways. The fundamental thing is how you stop it tipping sideways while keeping it thin."

Triton will have a range of 3,000 nautical miles, a cruising speed of 12 knots and a top speed of 20 knots. It will be a testbed for electric propulsion, and it will put to sea with 12 scientists — berthed in cabins with en suite showers — 12 crew and 47 square metres of laboratory space.

The Ministry of Defence sees the craft as a candidate for "Future Escort": the design that will replace existing frigates after 2010. A bigger design — future craft could have two or three times the length — will offer more speed.

"Frigates normally go at about 30 knots. At 30 knots the trimaran is looking attractive," said David Andrews of the MoD. "With a monohull the curve of the power goes astronomical. To go much beyond 30 knots you end up full of engines and nothing else. The trimaran, because it is so long and thin, requires less power to go as fast as a monohull."



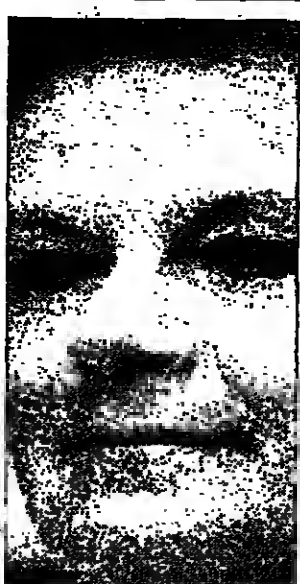
## Rescue mission for able operator

**HELEN LIDDELL**, new Scottish Office Minister, has been sent north on a rescue mission: to stem the rise of the Scottish National Party. She did not want to go and the Chancellor, Gordon Brown, and Treasury civil servants did not want her to go either, as she had built up a formidable reputation as Economic Secretary.

It is not the best of career moves. If, as expected, she takes over from the Scottish Secretary, Donald Dewar, next May, she will be going to a job that will make increasingly irrelevant by the new Scottish Parliament.

The Scottish press will give her a torrid time over working for crooked tycoon Robert Maxwell. But her focus will be on the battles with the SNP in the run-up to May's Scottish parliamentary election: she brings organising skills from her time as general secretary of the Scottish Labour Party and a no-nonsense approach to campaigning.

She was brought up in a



working-class Lamarkshire community and still lives in the West of Scotland. She had to tough, as female general secretary of the Scottish Labour Party in a chairmanist region and in her by-election victory in John Smith's old Monklands constituency, the nastiest sectarian contest in Scotland for decades.

She was prominent in the campaign for changing the party's commitment to public ownership, Clause 4.

At the Treasury, she lived up to her reputation for toughness with her handling of the pension mis-selling scandal.

Ewen MacAskill

## Practical PR with streak of romance

**BRIAN WILSON**, the new Trade Minister, brings to the DTI a combination of pragmatism, public relations skills and romantic socialism — especially his championing of land reform in the Scottish Highlands.

He will not be happy leaving the Scottish Office, where he had several roles, including education minister, and would have preferred at least another year to prove wrong the Scottish press, which has been harrasing him since his first days in office, especially in the recent row over university tuition fees.

But once on the move, the DTI was not a surprise as he has a good working relationship with the Trade and Industry Secretary, Peter Mandelson. They worked together during the General Election campaign, where Mr Wilson was in charge of the Excalibur rebuttal system, using his journalistic skills to offer instant reaction to Tory attacks.

He was brought up in Dunoon in Argyll but his heart has



long been in the Highlands, constantly commuting between London, Glasgow and Lewis, and learning Gaelic.

Since becoming MP for Cunningham North in 1987, he has held several jobs, with his happiest time working with John Prescott's shadow transport team.

The brew at the DTI is an eclectic one. Mr Mandelson, Blairite to his toenails, speaking up for business, and the Minister for Industry, Ian McCartney, a moderniser with Old Labour tendencies, speaking up for the unions. And Mr Wilson in the middle.

Ewen MacAskill

## Pension expert finds right job

**JOHN DENHAM**, who moved up one to take Frank Field's job at the Social Services Department, was one of the few southern English Labour MPs from outside London during the 1992-97 parliament.

As MP for Southampton Itchen, he was often quizzed by senior party members about the secret of his success in unlocking the South.

He had another special claim, as a backbencher and later as a frontbencher — an interest in pensions reform. In a party bereft of detailed analysis on the subject, he put forward an alternative to the state pension.

He argued his case at fringe meetings at party conference, to the alarm of traditionalists who saw the state pension as sacred.

There is little sign of a solution but with the arrival of Alastair Darling as the new Secretary of State and the pension review due for publication in the autumn, the pressure is on.

Ewen MacAskill



Mr Denham's advice on how to win in the South was always sound, but was ironic coming from someone who was once strongly identified with the left, even briefly as a Trotskyite.

He supported Tony Benn for the deputy leadership against Denis Healey in 1981 and a year later campaigned for "extra-parliamentary action... to establish a democratic socialist society in Britain".

Having moved gradually away from the left, he won Itchen in 1992 by 551 votes, a swing of almost 7 per cent.

Ewen MacAskill

## Talent and energy prevail

**PATRICIA HEWITT** featured in BBC's series on Labour in exile, The Wilderness Years, standing at the rostrum berating the tired Callaghan leadership of the late '70s from the left. She was not the only such delegate from the Bennite era to find herself a member of Tony Blair's moderate New Labour government this week. But few people arouse such passionate admiration and loathing.

The daughter of Australia's top civil servant (Sir Leopold Leach) and an academic mother, she emerged, via Cambridge and pressure group politics, as Neil Kinnock's press secretary.

She failed to win safe Leicester West in the 1987 election and took an unfair share of the blame for that defeat. She bounced back as the driving force behind the creation of the IPPR think-tank.

Back in the team for the 92 campaign, she took the blame for errors in the final week. A lack of easy charm and



charges of opportunism have always made for lots of hitchhikes against her on the left. From the right, the jibe is lurking authoritarianism.

But talent and energy prevailed. John Smith put her on his Social Justice Commission in 1992-94. From there she moved to be head of research at Andersen Consulting, from which she was credited with importing Labour's "rapid rebuttal" tactics. Yesterday, the 49-year-old MP for Leicester West was made Economic Secretary to the Treasury — one of the highest promotions of the week.

Michael White

# Loyalty is the only label that matters

Ewen MacAskill and Michael White

**T**ONY Blair gave The Project a huge push forward yesterday. He appointed MP after MP known to be enthusiastic about his plans for modernising the party. His advisers insisted that age, sex and the old left-right labels were irrelevant: all that mattered was loyalty.

The Cabinet reshuffle on Monday told only half the story. The reshuffle of the middle and junior ranks has almost completed it. Mr Blair has created a Government that, for the most part, reflects his own image.

And yesterday confirmed the gentle purge of the supporters of the Chancellor, Gordon Brown. He saved Geoffrey Robinson, but elsewhere those MPs heavily identified as Brownites were sacked or moved, the careful network he had created wrecked.

Mr Brown, according to one of them, was "extremely upset". One of the victims, speaking out of bitterness or bravado, warned: "I think the Prime Minister does not realise he has introduced civil war to the party."

That may be inflammatory, and Downing Street officials laughed it off. But they know the internet history of their party well enough: hence Jack Cunningham's appointment to shut down the networks of gossip that seep into the media. It is not that simple.

What should give Mr Blair at least a tremor of concern is



Dr Jack Cunningham opening up a red box in the new beefed-up Cabinet Office yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: IAN WALSH

that inflammatory language was repeated throughout the day in various guises, from loyal MPs and even a Cabinet minister. "He has institutionalised the feud," the latter said, referring to Mr Brown and Mr Blair's lieutenant, Peter Mandelson, being pitted against each other in economic departments.

There are two scenarios. One is that Mr Blair is now master of all he surveys in the party, ruling by divide and

conquer, leaving Mr Brown and Mr Mandelson to fight over the economy. Mr Blair will expect them to sort it out themselves in the interests of the Government. Even if they do not, he will still be in a stronger position than he was before Monday's reshuffle. He is not likely to see a repeat of the cartoon in last Sunday's Observer, featuring Mr Blair as a monkey and Mr Brown as the organ-grinder.

The other scenario is that he has initiated a period of instability, creating through the inevitable body of disgruntled MPs on the backbenches: seething Brownites out for revenge and angry old-timers who feel they carried the party through the lean times and have not been rewarded. Those who were disappointed in 1997 have little hope now.

Mr Blair has calculated he can rule without the latter and that his new loyal team will carry not only him but

The Project — whatever it is and wherever it is headed — through. Weekend press analysis, suggesting yet again that the Prime Minister is really a Liberal Democrat, only inflames July tempers.

The Brownies had various touchstones. Tom Clarke, the Film Minister, and Nigel Griffiths, the Consumer Affairs Minister, were ultra-loyal to Mr Brown and both sacked, convinced it was because of this loyalty rather than incompetence.

Not many MPs will agree with that assessment. But the pair's dismissal follows the biggest Brownite scalping of all, Nick Brown, the Chief Whip, "promoted" to the Cabinet as Agriculture Minister.

Another Brownite, Doug Henderson, Minister for Europe, was spared but moved to the Ministry of Defence, as Armed Forces Minister.

Among Blairites coming into Government for the first time or being promoted were

Margaret Hodge, former leader of Islington Council and an old neighbour of Mr Blair, who becomes an education minister, and John McFall, a whip who helped to organise Mr Blair's leadership campaign in 1994 and who joins the Northern Ireland team.

Joining Jack Cunningham in the revamped Cabinet Office as deputy enforcer is another Blairite, Lord Falconer, who shares a flat with Mr Blair when he was a young lawyer. Ross Cranston replaces him as Solicitor General, one of the three Class of '97 ministers.

As well as establishing the supremacy of the Blairites, the reshuffle gives a more pro-European tilt to the Government. Joyce Quinn, new Minister for Europe, is so pro-European that she speaks foreign languages well enough to be allowed on European TV.

Other newcomers or people on the way up include sporty

## Blair's junior team

Attorney General	John Moore
Lord Advocate	Lord Penton
Solicitor General	Ross Cranston
Solicitor General for Scotland	Colin Boyd
Ministers of State in the Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions	Michael Meacher, Henry Anderson, Elizabeth Gidman
Junior Ministers in the Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions	Kick Raynsford, Glenda Jackson, Lord Whitty, Alan Meale
Paymaster General	Geoffrey Robinson
Financial Secretary to the Treasury	Dawn Primorac
Economic Secretary to the Treasury	Patricia Hewitt
Ministers of State in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office	Derek Fatchett, Joyce Quin, Tony Lloyd
Junior Foreign Office Minister	Baroness Symons of Vernham Dean
Minister of State in the Lord Chancellor's Department	Gordon Brown
Home Office Minister of State	Alan Mitchell, Lord Williams of Mostyn
Junior Home Office Minister	George Howarth, Mike O'Brien, Kate Hoey
Minister of State for Education and Employment	Andrew Smith, Estelle Llorca, Baroness Eddowes
Junior Minister for Education and Employment	Charles Clarke, Gordon Brown, Gordon Brown
Minister of State for Trade and Industry	John Birt, Ian McCartney, Brian Wilson, Lord Simon of Highbury
Junior Trade and Industry Minister	Jim Howells, Barbara Hooley, Lord Salisbury of Torduff
Minister of State and Deputy Minister for Agriculture, Fisheries and Food	John Grieve
Junior Minister for Agriculture, Fisheries and Food	Elliot Morley, Lord Dunsford
Scottish Office Minister of State	Helen Liddell, Henry McLeish
Junior Scottish Office Minister	Lord Sewat, Dr Sam Galbraith, Calum MacLeod
Minister of State for Wales	Lord Gilbert, Doug Henderson
Junior Minister for Wales	John Spiller
Minister of State for Northern Ireland	Yvonne Jewkes, Alan Millum
Junior Minister for Northern Ireland	Baroness Hayman
Minister of State for Culture, Media and Sport	Tony Banks, Alan Howarth, Lord Dunsford
Social Security Minister of State	John Denham
Junior Social Security Minister	Baroness Hollis of Hingham, Angela Eagle, Stephen Tuckwell
Northern Ireland Minister of State	Adam Ingram, Paul Murphy
Junior Northern Ireland Minister	John McFall, Lord Dubs
Junior Welsh Office Minister	Peter Hain, Jon Owen Jones
Junior International Development Minister	Geoffrey Foulkes
Cabinet Office Minister of State	Lord Falconer of Thoroton
Junior Cabinet Office Minister	Peter Kilroy
Deputy Chief Whip	Lord McIntosh of Haringey
Lord in Waiting	Lord Hart of Kings Heath and Lord Hoyle
Baroness in Waiting	Baroness Farnham of Ribblesdale, Baroness Parnley of Cottesloe, Baroness Amos
Deputy Chief Whip and Treasurer of HM Household	Kath Bradley
Comptroller of HM Household	Thomas McNulty
Viscountess of HM Household	Graham Allen
Lord Chamberlain	Robert Ainsworth, James Dowds, Olive Betts, David Jamieson, Joyce Kennedy
Principal Government Whip	Anne McGuire, David Harcourt, David Chubb, Michael Hill, Keith Hill, Kevin Hughes, Greg Pope

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## Drinks on the terrace with Hurley and Grant as ex-film minister Clarke goes out in style

Michael White Political Editor

**A**T LEAST Tom Clarke went out in style. As news of his dismissal as minister for film and tourism spread through the Palace of Westminster on Monday night, it was followed by word that he was having a drink on the terrace with Liz Hurley and Hugh Grant.

Not every sackee was so lucky, though most were dignified. "It's a rough old business," said more than one. Amid the bitterness there was criticism of the ritual. "It's part of the summer season, like Henley and Ascot. Why don't we change people one at a time throughout the year?" said a survivor.

Some ex-ministers were more philosophical. "Congratulations on being made a privy councillor, 'Clarkey,'" someone said to the veteran trade minister, Lord Stanley Clinton-Davis. "I think it's a consolation prize, he's just called me in to see him. But I am 69," the soon-to-be-ex-trade minister replied. He has had a good run, including a spell as an EU commissioner.

Leaving office with Mon-



Tom Clarke with Liz Hurley and Hugh Grant on the Commons terrace after receiving news of his dismissal

more realistic about being a pawn on the board. "Obviously I am very disappointed to have lost the job, but I knew I was vulnerable. When so many Cabinet ministers are in their 40s, junior ministers in their 30s have a short shelf life," he said.

Mr Clarke was on borrowed time in one sense. An elected shadow cabinet member, like David Clark and Gavin Strang, he did not get a real Cabinet post last May. It was "take it or leave it." As a film buff he took it, but such Old Labour MPs were always going to be vulnerable and Mr Clarke had a further problem.

It was widely believed that the organising power of Gordon Brown's campaign team was put behind Mr Clarke in the shadow elections two years ago. And who got bumped as a result? Why, Jack Cunningham, the man who has bounced back with a vengeance this week. That could have serious long-term repercussions.

Nigel Griffiths was also a Brown client, though his behaviour as a minister raised eyebrows. He put himself beyond safety last week when he predicted he would not be sacked.

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## 6 WORLD NEWS

### News in brief

#### China urges all-out effort to stop flood

DIKES held back a third flood crest on the middle reaches of the Yangtze yesterday as China called for a "do or die" effort to protect millions of people living along the river. With waters on the Yangtze at their highest levels in 44 years, nearly 5 million people in five provinces were mobilised to help ensure embankments held firm, the official Liberation Army daily said. An all-out effort is needed to ensure the flood crest does not undermine the dikes, already weakened by heavy rains and high waters, the official Xinhua news agency said. The flood peak passed Yueyang in Hunan province without incident yesterday and was moving through Wuhan, which has more than 7 million residents. Floods caused by heavy rains have killed more than 1,145 people this year. Almost a million people have been forced from their homes in the three worst-hit provinces — Hunan, Hubei and Jiangxi. — AP, Yueyang.

#### Einstein's house stays in family

SIXTY-FIVE years after Albert Einstein fled Hitler's Germany, his summer house outside Berlin, which was seized by the Nazis and used by East Germany's communists, is about to be returned to the physicist's heirs. The dilapidated wooden structure in Caputh, near Potsdam, has been the subject of legal wrangling since German reunification in 1990. The asset rulings agency in Potsdam has named 12 heirs to the property, including Einstein's daughter Eva Kaysner, aged 87, the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and an eye clinic in Princeton. Locals had resisted the Einstein family's claim on the property, leading to accusations that they planned to turn it into a tourist attraction. The 12 heirs will decide how it will be used after expensive repair work. — Denis Staunton, Berlin.

#### Judge backs Branson in suit

THE threat to Richard Branson and the Virgin Atlantic airline from a racial and sexual harassment lawsuit by a former employee appeared to have diminished yesterday after a New York judge threw out all allegations against Mr Branson personally. Judge Miriam Cederbaum ruled that the airline could produce evidence about the sex life of Lord Branson which caused the claimant to withdraw an allegation that she was fired because she refused to have an abortion. Mr Branson said Virgin Atlantic would fight her remaining claims of racial harassment. "We are going to fight to protect our reputation," he said. — Journal Coles, New York.

#### Suu Kyi stand-off continues

THE Burmese pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi was visited by her doctors yesterday as neither the democracy campaigner nor the government retreated from their five-day stand-off on a road outside Rangoon. Ms Suu Kyi, leader of the National League for Democracy, an aide and two drivers were with the government last night when she attempted to drive out of the capital to meet NLD members. "The provisions in the car — water and edibles — are nearly exhausted. Before her health condition fails, the NLD party should be allowed to proceed on their journey," the NLD said as Ms Suu Kyi prepared to spend a fifth night in her car. On Monday the United States secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, said the US would hold the Burmese junta responsible for Ms Suu Kyi's health and safety. — AP, Rangoon.

#### Slayings shock Swiss

FOUR men were shot dead in a gangland-style attack on a tea room in the diplomatic quarter of the usually placid Swiss capital, Bern, police said yesterday. The unknown attackers escaped. Officers found the bodies of the men lying in the back of the Safari Tea Room. Neighbours called police late on Monday evening when they heard the windows breaking at the tea room, a 10-minute walk from the main railway station in the city centre. The Italian consulate and the Chaudhary and Jordanian embassies are among other tenants of the building but a spokesman for the state prosecutor said there appeared to be no connection between the slayings and the diplomatic missions. — AP, Bern.



Serb forces watch Junik after surrounding the ethnic Albanian stronghold in western Kosovo. They gave civilians and KLA rebels an hour to leave, but none did. PHOTOGRAPH: SERBIAN ILC

## Nato plans Kosovo action

### Serb forces surround rebels' border stronghold

Ian Black  
Diplomatic Editor

NATO is finalising plans to contain the fighting in Kosovo while signalling its reluctance to use "coercive" military measures. The moves come as the latest upsurge in violence spurs Western governments to seek a diplomatic solution. As European powers monitor the Serbian offensive in the territory amid signs that conflict could spill into neighbouring countries, officials in Brussels insisted yesterday that Nato is ready to act despite a preference for negotiation. In recent weeks, Nato threats of direct intervention have given way to a search for ways to stem the progress of the independence-seeking Kosovo Liberation Army and force it to deal with President Slobodan Milosevic. Nato sources said they have prepared "coercive measures" to use against both sides, but warned that any action against the Serbs would require the destruction of the entire air defence system, while the mobile guerrilla forces of the KLA present no obvious target without the use of ground troops. "The big question is how you pressure Milosevic without becoming the air force of the KLA," one official said. "You have to be very clear about what you can achieve by force before you use it." Diplomats also say that Serbia's use of violence is neither indiscriminate nor disproportionate in the way that it was when killings by troops and special police in March galvanised Nato to issue its first warnings of intervention. Western governments say

they are looking at measures to "stabilise" Albania to prevent it sliding into conflict because of cross-border raids by the KLA and escalating rhetoric between Tirana and Belgrade. These measures range from tightening border controls and checkpoints in the infiltration zone, to deploying Nato troops in the border area, possibly under cover of a military exercise in Albania. But with obvious difficulties for any military move — and near certain opposition from Russia, instinctively sympathetic to the Serbs — Nato governments are continuing their search for a diplomatic solution with a team of three senior European Union officials due in Pristina, Kosovo's main town, today and Belgrade tomorrow. The aim is to persuade President Milosevic to

start talks with the Kosovo Albanians, and persuade the KLA to team up with moderate political parties who are prepared to negotiate. Both Mr Milosevic and the big powers rule out independence for Kosovo, although most of its ethnic Albanians believe it is the only viable way to end their oppression. The six-nation Contact Group on former Yugoslavia is looking at options that fall between independence and autonomy. Mr Milosevic has spoken recently of granting autonomy to "ethnic minorities", although this is little more than a face-saving formula. Western positions range from "enhanced autonomy" to "self-determination" — still compatible with the primary concern, maintaining the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia. "There are some very conflicting signals coming out of Belgrade," one well-placed official said last night. "The trick is to get both sides to sit down at the table and to feel there is more to be gained by that than by fighting. "Things have not been going Milosevic's way over the last few months and he seems to be coming round to the realisation that this is not a war he can win by military force."

### Happy jobless laugh off the German work ethic

Denis Staunton in Berlin

WORKERS of the world unite: you have nothing to lose but your shame. That's the message from Germany's unemployed group the Happy Unemployed. While politicians argue about how to get 4 million jobless Germans off the dole, this group of unemployed Berliners have become crusaders for idleness, arguing that they are doing the state a favour by doing nothing. Since issuing its manifesto a few weeks ago, the group has received hundreds of letters from unemployed people who fear that an economic upturn could force them back into work. For many life began the moment they lost their job. "I've learnt to paint and compose on the synthesiser. I've become creative and go to parties. I need time because I have one girlfriend in Cologne and another in Düsseldorf," a man from Aachen wrote. The manifesto, At Last I Have Time, argues that the unemployed are cowed by peer pressure into pretending that they want to work. "The obligation to work is a big problem." He believes the happily unemployed should be rewarded for leaving jobs free for those who enjoy work. He claims that the economy requires a certain level of unemployment to keep inflation low and argues that, since the stock market rewards companies that lay off staff, sacked workers often generate more profit than those who remain employed. But the authorities show no sign of easing off on the workshy, as an unemployed woman from Koblenz wrote in the group's magazine. "For the past four years I have been happily out of work, or free of work as I call it," she wrote. "Unfortunately, my happiness is disturbed time and again by the employment office."

### British-French trade row looms on cotton

Martin Walker in Brussels

PETER MANDELSON, the new Trade and Industry Secretary, faces a baptism of fire in a trade war with France. The European Commission today launches a plan for anti-dumping duties on cotton. The British cotton industry claims that up to 200,000 jobs could be at risk from the new duties, all because President Jacques Chirac has pledged to defend the interests of 10,000 French cotton workers. Britain has hitherto held together the support of eight of the 15 European Union member states against the duties. But Austria looks poised to switch sides after the Commission made concessions to protect its specialist tapestry industry. Led by Mr Chirac, France has lobbied intensively to persuade the Commission and a majority of member states to impose a permanent 12 per cent duty on unbleached cotton fabrics from India, Pakistan, Egypt, Indonesia and

China. Those countries are judged to be "dumping" — selling goods in Europe for a lower price than at home. The Commission in April imposed a temporary anti-dumping tariff of 15 per cent. This can last only for six months unless the member states formally endorse the new duties. With Austria expected to switch its vote at the next Council meeting in September, Mr Mandelson faces a battle to save the duties that threaten tens of thousands of British jobs. The chairman of the British parliamentary all-party committee for textiles, Philip Woolas MP, estimates that 25,000 of 43,000 British jobs in the industry have been lost this year. Arlene McCarthy, Labour MEP for the Peak District, said textile plants in her constituency will close if the new duties are imposed. "There has been a secret compromise behind closed doors," she said. But Commission spokesmen dismissed the concerns as exaggerated. "We think the impact on the textile industry will be marginal," a source

said. "We have made detailed studies which show that European cotton weavers are being damaged by the dumping, while the duties should not hurt the textile industry." But other Commission officials said there had been intense pressure from Paris both to impose the duties, and to overturn previous votes against them by the member states. A majority of member states overturned two earlier attempts by the Commission to impose the duties. But the Commission reimposed "provisional duties" on each occasion. "This is an object lesson in the subtle ways France uses the Commission mechanism to defend its national interests, whatever the price may be to other member states," said one official. Anti-dumping duties are being used increasingly as a way to get around the free trade and free market agreements which successive British and United States governments have promoted. The EU has imposed them on everything from microchips to mountain bikes.

### Chess crisis after murder

James Mack in Moscow

THE murder of a campaigning journalist has plunged the world of international chess into crisis only weeks before more than a thousand international players gather in a dusty steppe region of southern Russia for the 1998 Chess Olympiad. A coalition of Russian civil rights organisations has appealed to national chess federations not to send teams to the Olympiad, due to be held in September in Kalmykia, a semi-desert territory on the shores of the Caspian Sea ruled over by Kirsan Ilyumzhinov, who is also the head of the main world chess body, Fide. The journalist, Larissa Yudina, editor of the only opposition newspaper in Kalmykia, was murdered on June 7. Her paper had been consistently critical of Mr Ilyumzhinov, accusing him of corruption and incompetence on a massive scale. In turn he persecuted Yudina, forcing her to print the paper in another part of Russia. One of the men arrested and charged with the murder was a former Ilyumzhinov aide. The appeal, signed by 14 of Russia's most prominent civil rights campaigners, said that the newly built "Chess City" in the Kalmyk capital, Elista, where Olympic players and officials will stay during the tournament, had been built with Russian government money intended for social security and for investment in the industry and agriculture of the desperately poor region. "When you look out of the windows of Chess City to the nearby Amber Pond, you should know that several

months ago, in this very pond, the mutilated body of the editor of Kalmykia's only opposition newspaper was found," the appeal said. Yudina had often written about the crooked means used to channel money into chess, it went on. "The winners will receive prizes. But these prizes are paid for by illegal requisitions from the people of Kalmykia — every citizen of the region is obliged to invest money in the Olympics." Mr Ilyumzhinov, first elected in 1993, held fresh elections in 1998 which were illegal under the Russian constitution. No action has been taken against him by the Kremlin, grateful for stability in the republic and for Mr Ilyumzhinov's ability to deliver votes when necessary, and fearful of a new Chechenia among the historically Buddhist, ethnically non-Slavic Kalmyks.

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مكتبة القرآن



A public prepared to overlook sexual indiscretions may not forgive if US leader is proved to have lied under oath. Mark Tran reports

# The past closes in on the president

## Long pursuit by prosecutor has Clinton on run

**A**S LONG as Monica Lewinsky stayed silent, there was little pressure on President Clinton to respond to requests by prosecutors for him to testify about his relationship with the former White House intern.

When the presidential spokesman, Mike McCurry, announced his resignation last week, the White House spin was that the Lewinsky matter was well under control and that it was a safe time for the effective and long-suffering Mr McCurry to leave.

Any sense of complacency, however, has been shattered after the rapid developments of recent days, starting with a subpoena issued last week requiring Mr Clinton to testify to a grand jury looking into the Lewinsky case — the first subpoena issued against a sitting president to appear in connection with a criminal investigation.

Kenneth Starr, the special prosecutor driving the investigation, has for six months been looking into whether Mr Clinton and Ms Lewinsky lied under oath about the nature of their relationship and then

Any sense of complacency in the Clinton camp has been shattered after the rapid developments of recent days

sought to cover it up — such a cover-up constituting a criminal offence.

He deems this issue to be part of the investigation he was hired to pursue in 1994, an inquiry into whether Mr Clinton and his wife lied about their role in a 1995 Arkansas investment deal, the Whitewater property development.

As Mr Starr was negotiating yesterday with Mr Clinton's personal lawyer, David Kendall, on how the president should testify, the first of two tapes landed on the president's desk: a federal appeals court ordered one of his closest confidants and advisers, Bruce Lindsey, to submit to grand jury questioning in the Lewinsky investigation.

"A government attorney may not invoke the attorney-client privilege in response to grand jury questions seeking information relating to the possible commission of a federal crime," the court ruling said.

Then came the news that Ms Lewinsky had struck a tentative immunity deal after long talks with Mr Starr's prosecutors in New York.

Ms Lewinsky was first subpoenaed late last year by lawyers in a private lawsuit brought by Paula Jones, a woman who says she was propositioned by Mr Clinton in an Arkansas hotel room while he was governor of that state. Ms Jones's lawyers hoped that Ms Lewinsky would support their contention that Mr Clinton habitually preyed on women subor-

dinates, that Ms Lewinsky had succumbed and was rewarded with a government job.

In a response to that subpoena, Ms Lewinsky filed a sworn statement saying she had no such relationship with Mr Clinton. He, too, denied "sexual relations" with Ms Lewinsky, both on television and in his own deposition in the Paula Jones case.

But Linda Tripp, a friend of Ms Lewinsky, had recorded telephone conversations she had with Ms Lewinsky in which the latter was reported to have alluded to efforts by Mr Clinton and others to influence her testimony in the Jones case.

Mr Starr then asked for and received authorisation to expand the long-running Whitewater inquiry — an investigation that has so far cost \$40 million (\$24 million) — to look into whether there was a cover-up in the Lewinsky matter.

The public has so far looked indulgently on reports of Mr Clinton's alleged trysts or sexual indiscretions, a list that includes Gennifer Flowers, Ms Jones, Kathleen Willey and Ms Lewinsky.

But they may be less indulgent this time, if they feel Mr Clinton lied to them on television, and in his Paula Jones deposition.

With Ms Lewinsky apparently having confirmed to Mr Starr's prosecutors in New York this week that she did have a sexual relationship with the president, Mr Clinton would have to address her statement if he agreed to testify in whatever format can be devised to preserve whatever is left of his dignity. Video testimony is one option.

The president would also have to confront mounds of evidence and testimony likely to put him and Ms Lewinsky together on repeated occasions. This includes material from secret service testimony, White House records and White House officials.

Mr Clinton would be forced to try to explain each encounter. Last week, a secret service officer told investigators that on a weekend day in 1996, he and Harold Ickes, the deputy White House chief of staff, saw the president and Ms Lewinsky together in the White House in December 1995. She supposedly caught the president's eye. He gave her gifts — subsequently retrieved by the FBI.

White House colleagues remember her as pushy and self-aggrandising, hinting at "political connections" in the tapes made by Linda Tripp, she talks of a relationship with

MONICA LEWINSKY could go down in history as the star-struck White House intern from Oregon who brought down the Clinton presidency. She started work at the White House in December 1995. She supposedly caught the president's eye. He gave her gifts — subsequently retrieved by the FBI.

White House colleagues remember her as pushy and self-aggrandising, hinting at "political connections" in the tapes made by Linda Tripp, she talks of a relationship with

Some legal experts and some of Mr Clinton's advisers are urging him to tough it out by refusing to comply with Mr Starr's subpoenas and challenging his legality all the way to the supreme court.

But Republicans are threatening to start impeachment proceedings should the president resist the subpoena. Democrats on Capitol Hill have indicated that they do not prepared to back their leader if he refuses to testify.

And impeachment proceedings — pitting a Democratic president against a Republican Congress — would paralyse the American government. The pressure could be on Mr Clinton to resign.

The Guardian's Clinton website is at <http://reports.guardian.co.uk/clinton>

## Key players in heightening drama



MONICA LEWINSKY could go down in history as the star-struck White House intern from Oregon who brought down the Clinton presidency. She started work at the White House in December 1995. She supposedly caught the president's eye. He gave her gifts — subsequently retrieved by the FBI.



Kenneth Starr was appointed in 1994 to lead the US government's investigation into the Whitewater property deal. The White House has accused Starr, who was solicitor-general under the Bush administration of pursuing a witch-hunt.

Six months ago Starr opened his investigation into allegations of a sexual relationship between the president and Lewinsky. He has compiled hundreds of pages on his \$40 million investigations, and is expected to hand them over to a Republican Congress, for it to decide whether to impeach.

Starr's legal team Lewinsky is prepared to say she had a sexual relationship with Clinton but that he did not ask her to lie about it.

BETTY CURRIE was an obscure public servant as Clinton's personal secretary. Then the Lewinsky scandal ensured the nearest thing to an innocent bystander. As the White House gatekeeper, she had a desk in the anteroom of the Oval Office. According to White House officials, when Lewinsky visited the president after she had left the White House, it was typically Currie who cleared her in.

It was Currie, according to Jordan, who asked him to help Lewinsky. And, according to Starr's office, it was Currie who retrieved the president's gifts.

## Opposition cries foul in Cambodian poll count

Nick Cumming-Bruce in Phnom Penh

**F**EARS of political turmoil returned to Cambodia yesterday as leaders of two main opposition parties declared a foul in last weekend's parliamentary elections only hours after international observers praised them as free and fair, and even as a miracle.

Prince Norodom Ranariddh, the ousted first prime minister, and the former finance minister Sam Rainsy jointly announced they would not recognise the result until irregularities they allege in the counting of votes are investigated and voting takes place again in some contested areas.

counted. Prince Ranariddh's party, Funcinpec, would win 42 to 45 seats, and the Sam Rainsy party would take 13. By these estimates, the CPP would increase its presence by 11 seats, after a campaign in which noticeably larger crowds turned out for opposition rallies.

The CPP claim deepened opposition suspicion of fraud, already aroused by unexplained delays in the counting and the slow release of official results. By yesterday morning the national election committee had announced only partial results for two provinces. In both the CPP led.

"They stole our vote," Mr Ranariddh claimed. "Had the vote not been a fraud, we would be in the majority." He promised the opposition would challenge the result "in all legal and peaceful ways". As a first step, he said, several parties had agreed to take part in a press conference today challenging the result. The two opposition leaders also announced that

their parties would not take their seats in the new national assembly, threatening to halt its proceedings. Independent observers were doubtful whether irregularities in the count were sufficiently significant to affect the outcome, but noted that the CPP's claimed tally matched the target they had set.

"How could they win that many seats? Wherever I've gone people do not believe the result announced by the CPP," said Leo Mong Hal, the director of the politically neutral Khmer Institute of Democracy. "I am very disappointed. We had a good polling day. Now something really is going on. It was a historic day, now there are tensions around town."

The fraud charges switched the mood in Phnom Penh from hope for elusive stability to fears of a return to the conflicts which developed after the last election in 1993 and led to last year's coup in which Mr Hun Sen ousted Prince Ranariddh.

The US secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, cautioned that "the democratic process in Cambodia unravel before" and urged the international community to "keep the pressure on".

The fraud charges also cast new doubt over the findings of the international observers. Only hours earlier, the United Nations co-ordinated joint international observer group declared that from what it had seen, the election "was a process which was free and fair to an extent that enables it to reflect the will of the Cambodian people".

Stephen Solarz, joint leader of a team of mainly American observers, said history would record the poll as "a miracle". But the UN group's rush to issue a statement drew criticism. Some observers noted that a much debated reference to "free and fair" elections was included largely at the insistence of members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (Asean), which is considering Cambodia's membership application.

## Spielberg film revives trauma for war veterans

Joanna Coles in East Hampton, Long Island

**S**TEVEN Spielberg's latest film, which depicts the second world war so graphically that the director has banned his teenage son from seeing it, has triggered traumatic memories for so many veterans that a hotline has been set up to help them.

Paula Schnurr, a psychiatrist, said many veterans had been surprised to be overcome by their memories, but she said it was essential for them to know this was a normal reaction. "Education can go a long way towards normalising the experience, which can be terrifying," she said.

With receipts of about £18 million less than a week after it opened, the film has been hailed, alongside classics such as *The Bridge on the River Kwai*, as one of the greatest war films.

The New York Times said: "This is as close as one generation can come to an artistic knowledge of war elicited from the first-hand experience of its elders."

## Star mum delivers end to speculation

Alex Bellos in Rio de Janeiro

**N**INE months of speculation ended yesterday when Latin America's most famous woman, the Brazilian children's television presenter Xuxa Meneghel, gave birth to a healthy baby girl.

Since the eternally youthful 35-year-old former soft porn star stunned the country last year by announcing on live television that she was expecting a child, the media has provided almost daily updates on her pregnancy.

Sasha Meneghel Szafr was born in a Rio de Janeiro clinic where the atmosphere was more like "a Hollywood snappy production" than a maternity ward, according to the daily O Globo.

Xuxa (pronounced shoosha) has attracted scandal as well as success since she moved in with former footballer Pele as a teenage model. She later dated the late racing driver Ayrton Senna.

Xuxa: The media has closely followed her pregnancy

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The world in which fish inhabit does not require them to watch cricket matches or listen to the speeches of William Hague. Do fish yawn?  
**N&Q, G2 page 7**



# Comment

## Diary

Matthew Norman

**A** BIZARRE outbreak of interecine strife plagues the Hull and East Riding Race Equality Council. Last week's meeting nearly ended in uproar as rival factions rowed over the removal of the previous chairman. Only a dread threat from Lord Mayor Gordon Caselton, the Hull Daily Mail reports, remove the Council's £50,000 grant restored some semblance of order. Oh dear. The Hull REC's efforts to set an example of harmonious mutual respect have struggled for a while. As recently as March, a certain Kishore Pilling felt compelled to send a memo to all staff, paid and unpaid, admonishing: "Following a number of complaints from our female clients and students, who have been upset or felt threatened, we must ask all male workers (including members of the Executive Committee) to please refrain from attempting conversation with female clients."

**N** EWS arrives of Ivor Richard's final (and some will say greatest) contribution to government before he was sacked as leader of the Lords to make way for the Baroness Jay. He has safely ushered through a bicycle allowance of £6.2p per mile for their lordships. No evidence of the journey having been made will be required. "Peers always claim on their honour," as Lord Richard put it when moving the allowance. Significantly, following heated debate in the Lords, this measure will apply to tricycles. There is no word as to whether this will extend as far as bicycles with stabilisers.

**B** Y way of a service to employees at the DTI who may be unfamiliar with their new young master, we are pleased — indeed, we are overjoyed — to publish at last a picture (below) of Oofy Wegg-Prosser (then an undergraduate), is he not adorable? Oofy is friendly and good-natured, but as befits a special assistant to Mandy Mandelson, a core of steel lurks beneath the surface. As for our young women who find themselves taking a fancy, you may send us your letters of introduction (accompanied by two passport-size photos), which we will gladly forward.



Undergraduate Oofy

**M** EANWHILE, Oofy's pet and recent holiday companion, Dolly Draper, continues to be scapegoated. Poor Dolly is being blamed by Friends of the Earth for the much distasteful West of Swenage housing development. According to FoE, "Dolly Draper claims to have organised private meetings between the house builders' federation and a member of the No 10 policy unit to discuss which green belt might be suitable for housing development." However, as we know, no force on earth can dent Dolly's sublime self-confidence. On Monday, sporting a new spiky haircut, he cropped up on Newnham to opine about the reshuffle, and he is said to be jauntier than ever. "The last time I saw him he was on great form," says one. "He was telling us how he bagged a tabloid reporter who doorknocked him." Dolly is, as ever, gallant. "I never kiss and tell," he says. "Ha, ha, ha. One word of advice, I wouldn't use her name, if I were you."

**I** N North London, playwright Brian Behan, brother of the minutely better known Brendan, appeals for help in his search for the male lead for his new work, *Time Out* reports that the play, entitled *A Tale Of Two Todgers*, which is due to open at the Hackney Empire in September, concerns a man with two quarrelling penises. "I am having difficulties casting," says Mr Behan, a former bricklayer.



## Standing together on life's podium: Prozac, Viagra and other little helpers

Jonathan Freedland



**J**UNKIES are probably not too keen on international conferences, but there's one coming up that's set to be a cracker. Drug-users, the world over — everyone from teenagers on Ecstasy to middle-aged men on Viagra along with the anxious millions on Prozac — should be clearing their diaries and booking their tickets for London, where next January the International Olympic Committee will gather to debate the prickly business of drugs in sport.

The average pill-popper may reckon this has nothing to do with him, but he'd be wrong. The IOC's deliberations have a relevance that goes far beyond the cyclists, sprinters and swimmers at the centre of the usual rows about doping. In fact, the debate over performance-enhancing drugs touches on a confusion that affects all of us: the attitude not only to medicine but to the human body and soul.

That confusion has been on display all week. First, the Tour de France was knocked off balance by a dope scandal, as a stash of illegal substances was found in the hotel rooms of two of the leading teams. Then Olympic shot-put champion, Randy Barnes, failed a second drugs test, along with sprinter Dennis Mitchell — both of them facing possible bans from their sport.

But it was the head of the IOC, Juan Antonio Samaranch, who really set the debate on fire. The Andalusian Gromyko of international sport — he's been on the Olympics governing body for 33 years — wondered whether his fellow athletics chiefs shouldn't lighten up in their attitude to drug-taking. Perhaps runners, lifters and hurdlers should be allowed to give themselves a little pharmaceutical help. Samaranch suggested. Rather like Tony Blair's recent lecture on nice and nasty public spending, the Olympics boss sought to distinguish acceptable drug-taking from the unacceptable variety — currently bundled together. "Doping now is everything that, firstly, is harmful to an athlete's health and, secondly, artificially augments his performance," he said. Yet only the first kind is actually dodgy. In other words, if pills make you run faster and cause you no damage, said Samaranch, they're OK. Of course, he was instantly condemned by the top brass of world sport, but has the IOC boss got a point? He certainly has realism on his side: sporting drug-taking is now so commonplace, it might well be time to accept it as an unavoidable fact of athletic life. But Samaranch also zeroes in on a confusion we all have about drugs and sport.

Science whizz Oliver Morton recently suggested splitting the Olympic Games into two: one for those getting bottled help, another for those who were drug-free. Fans could watch records tumble as pharmacologically-enhanced supermen and women competed in the Open Olympics, while nostalgists could enjoy the slower pace of the Olympics Classic.

The response to the idea was fascinating: people disliked it, but they were sure why. For some, the problem was ethical: runners on drugs are cheats, even if they openly admit what they're taking. Others said the problem with pills is that they're not "natural", although they had no objection to goal-

keepers wearing contact lenses, even though those artificial aids are hardly found in nature. But the argument that really floors the traditionalists is the mention of drugs outside sport. Surely Viagra is a performance-enhancer, in the most literal sense of the term? If a man takes an artificial drug to boost his physical prowess, how different is he from Bjorn Borg or the TWM team in the Tour de France?

And what about the borders of men and women who rely on Prozac to lift them out of depression? Many of them tell movingly how the little tablet enables them to function more effectively than ever before — to run the race of life is that a performance-enhancer? It sounds like one.

**T**HERE are differences, of course, but they are hardly compelling. One might say that consumers of Viagra and Prozac are not in competition, unlike the athletes gobbling up human growth hormone. And yet that is hardly clear. Indeed, plenty of doctors in the US suspect it's a competition which is driving the countless men who have besieged their surgeries, desperate to become more enduring lovers thanks to a vial of Viagra.

Perhaps the difference is no wider than a GP's prescription. In other words, where there is a diagnosed medical problem, then drugs are all right. Except that, once again, the demand for Viagra has not been fuelled solely by men with clinical impotence. Plenty of the new Viagrans are men who can do it fine — they just want to do it harder and longer. For them drugs are no longer a cure: they are a lifestyle-enhancer.

Origin plays its part, too. All two often the plans are written too literally, and without incorporating the long-term objectives of the new administration. They also inevitably try to convince you that what you wanted to achieve was what they had been doing all the time!

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## Asylum lunacy

Isabel Hilton



**I**F YOU listened only to politicians you would imagine that Britain was awash with economic migrants making fraudulent claims for asylum, splurging out appeals procedures with the help of cynical advocates and creating a huge backlog of cases by a combination of weight of numbers and devious intent.

Home Office minister Mike O'Brien has no trouble admitting that the Home Office's handling of applications for political asylum in the UK is a "shambles". He does, though, seem to have trouble thinking it through any further. Mr O'Brien claims there is no "culture of disbelief" in the Home Office when faced with asylum claims. It's an assertion that would be laughable if it did not cause so much misery. And if Mr O'Brien and Mr Straw do not first acknowledge that this very culture of disbelief is one of the main reasons for the Home Office shambles, their white paper on immigration and asylum will receive, at best, a poor reception.

There is much to applaud in the stated intent to remove the scandalous backlog of 50,000 men, women and children whose lives are in limbo while they wait for the Home Office to deal with their applications, must be right, humane and economically sensible.

No doubt there are fraudulent claimants and unscrupulous advisers, but the main problem is the Home Office's inability to tell them apart. The NGOs that are struggling to cope with marooned refugees would be as happy as the Home Office to see fraudulent claimants swiftly despatched whence they came. But they also point out that the figures clearly demonstrate that when a serious problem occurs in Country X, it is followed by a rise in asylum applications from the nationals of that country. Is it impossible to imagine that people are fleeing Iraq or Colombia or former Yugoslavia in times of conflict are often genuine, and to hope that that should be the basis of a fair and fast procedure?

**M**IKE O'BRIEN says there is no culture of disbelief. What, then, are we to make of cases such as the one quoted by Alasdair Mackenzie of Asylum Aid — that of a Bosnian Croat journalist who fled Sarajevo after receiving a series of death threats? The Home Office turned down his application for asylum on the grounds that the death threats had not been carried out.

Advocacy groups are full of such stories. The Home Office, they say, is a byword for inefficiency and bad decision-making. Incredibly, there is still no computerised system to deal with applications, decisions are slow and papers are regularly lost. Now the Home Office says it plans to clear the backlog and reduce the processing time to six months from beginning to end. There is no word on how this is to be achieved without gravely prejudicing the rights of genuine refugees.

The Government's proposals as presented would only deal with half the backlog of initial decisions. It would still leave 20,000 initial cases outstanding and an appeals backlog of 21,000, which does not inspire confidence that the new system will be able to free itself of this towering mountain of paper. Nor is there any sign that the appalling problem at the heart of the system — the poor quality of first decisions — is being seriously addressed. Bad initial decisions lead directly to a heavy load of appeals. The Refugee Legal Centre, which provides legal representation for appeals, has a success rate of some 30 per cent.

The genuine asylum seeker is the loser in this: if a false claimant knows that an appeal can take years then he or she has a good chance of prolonging an unjustified stay with little risk of deportation. The genuine asylum seeker, on the other hand, faces months if not years of penury and uncertainty, possibly compounded by arbitrary detention, at a time when he or she is already traumatised by persecution at home.

Simply speeding up the process and reducing the appeal options to one only solves the problem if the quality of the work at the Home Office is also dramatically improved. To achieve that, there first has to be an acknowledgment

The Home Office is a secretive and appallingly managed bunker

of the problem. It is not good enough to say that no culture of disbelief exists. There are too many ludicrous and scandalous cases for that to be credible. The Home Office is a secretive, bureaucratic and appallingly managed bunker. There is an ineffective chain of command and little accountability for decisions made at the bottom. Bad decisions made by low level officials set in train a whole series of consequences — expense, delay and injustice, for which the institution's answer is to blame the asylum seekers and their advocates.

It is the fixed belief of most NGOs in the field that the Home Office sees its primary purpose as keeping people out of it appears to be the Home Office's belief that the NGOs are dedicated to letting all claimants in.

The first step, Mr O'Brien, is to stop blaming the applicants and listen to the critics

But the notion that any change is an affront to constitutional principle is the real threat to democracy. We cannot be deflected from ensuring the machinery of government serves it properly. That's why expert policy advisors with experience in business, academia and Non-Governmental Organisations are playing such a constructive role.

Jack Cunningham now has a pivotal role in bringing more cohesion to diverse departments and their working practices. This is a key position in which he is well-placed to deliver results.

Ministers must not be diverted by fighting the bureaucracy from taking forward policies which affect the lives of millions.

Until yesterday, Nigel Griffiths was minister for consumer affairs at the DTI

For me, the clash came early. I was instructed to give a 'somewhat dry and lifeless response' to an important press enquiry

## Goodbye DTI

Nigel Griffiths

**M**Y personal disappointment at leaving the Department of Trade and Industry is tempered by the knowledge that, in 14 months, consumers have been put at the heart of government and my successor, Kim Howells, a man of great ability, will ensure that even more progress is made in the future.

On May 1 last year the Labour Party was elected with a packed programme and a strong vision at the cutting edge of strategic thinking and presentation. It was bound to clash with a demoralised and understaffed Civil Service.

After 18 years of Conservative government, too many old methods and working systems were entrenched: some Whitshall press offices were fossilised. Draft press notices

often omitted key facts, and ministers were having to vet news releases to ensure that important details were included — details which had nothing to do with politics.

For me the clash came early. I was instructed to give a "somewhat dry and lifeless response" to an important press enquiry. From day one ministers were told by civil servants not to deal with problems affecting other departments, but there was no attempt to ensure that other departments returned journalists' calls. So a network of new Labour ministers tipping each other off soon developed. But this was a poor substitute for government press offices ensuring that a full response was given to press enquiries.

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## Darling buds that may

He needs strategic vision

**ACTION** Man has taken over at the Department of Social Security. Alastair Darling, newly installed as Secretary of State, was unequivocal on his first day: the time for talking about welfare reform was coming to an end. The test for any government was what it actually delivered. It was time to move the welfare debate "from a series of ideas into a firm plan that we can implement and work". People needed to see a real difference. Labour would be "one of the most radical governments there has been this century".

All of which might sound extremely admirable but if welfare reform was as simple as many newcomers assume, it would have been done years ago. The first warning which all new ministers should receive is beware of raising undue expectations. Welfare reform is a political quagmire which has sunk many an aspiring politician. Harriet Harman and Frank Field are only the two latest victims. Even Tony Blair found himself floundering after plunging into this policy area last year before he was properly briefed.

The new minister is unfamiliar with the subject. His first decision is what should be done about Frank Field's strategy paper published in March. Consultation concludes this week. At the top of his in-tray will be the 800-word letter, which we print in our Society section today, from 150 social policy specialists who believe Field's policy paper failed to tackle crucial issues such as the

adequacy of benefits, the future of social insurance, or the needs of unpaid carers who look after people at home but are outside the national insurance system.

Clearly there will be a temptation to dismiss Field's struggle with fundamental principles and just get on with enacting the remaining practical social security changes — pensions, disability benefits, housing benefits and reform of the child support agency. But that would be a dangerous course. The minister needs to have a strategic vision. One of the problems of the last year has been individual policy initiatives — the New Deal, child benefit restructuring, and minimum pensions guarantee — which have been taken even before ministers have agreed a fundamental approach.

Do ministers want to move towards a residual American-style welfare system which caters purely for the poor? Or do they want to maintain a continental model, in which social security has wider purposes involving security and solidarity? Initially, the Prime Minister favoured the first model speaking of the need to shift some responsibility from public to private shoulders, the desirability of moving from a universal to a safety net scheme, and the importance of cutting social security costs so that funds could be transferred to health and education. But in his forward to Field's green paper, Tony Blair specifically rejected the idea of a low-grade safety net in favour of an ill-defined third way.

Ministers are in a muddle. They have been from the start. They were right to want to reform welfare but silly to believe this would save money. Moving people from welfare to work is expensive — in terms of training and subsidies — as the New Deal is demonstrating. Dependency did have to be reduced but a majority will never be found work. They need a decent standard of living

too. Our current benefit levels are still linked through Beveridge back to Rowntree's report of the 1930s. Successive research studies have shown benefit levels to be totally inadequate. We need a minimum income standard. And we need a social insurance scheme that will draw in many more people. Darling should shut himself away, learn the subject, and develop a strategic vision before he cuts through the ministerial muddle.

## Asean's crises

Democracy rides a thorny path

**AN ECONOMIC** crisis concentrates Asian minds powerfully on issues that are usually brushed aside. Yesterday in Manila, the nine-member Asean grouping joined with its Western partners to set up a forum on the social costs of economic failure. Thailand, which proposed the new body, said: "Social unrest is now the most real threat to security in Asia." Such language would have been inconceivable a year ago.

The Thai foreign minister had already led the way when the Asean meeting gathered last Friday, urging his colleagues to speak more frankly about democracy, deprivation and the environment. He was backed by his host, the Philippines foreign secretary said a stronger Asean had to speak out on "thorny issues". Other Asean countries — particularly Singapore which takes over the chairmanship — are more reluctant. Malaysia continues to insist on the "time-honoured principle" of non-interference. The result was a cautious agreement to allow "enhanced interaction" to discuss issues within member states which had external implications. In reality, unrest anywhere in the region can quickly impact elsewhere, as

the news from Rangoon and Phnom Penh underlined yesterday.

In Cambodia, international pressure up till now for free and fair elections has been directed towards the ruling regime of Prime Minister Hun Sen — fairly enough in view of his dubious record. The latest development, in which the royalist FUNCPEC is crying foul, presents a more complex situation. The UN observers may have been too keen before the elections to give Hun Sen a clean bill of health, but the actual elections do appear to have passed relatively smoothly. Unless hard evidence of fraud can be produced, the result must stand. The Cambodian opposition should be reminded of the disasters that have occurred elsewhere when one party rejected a popular vote. Boycotting the assembly would only give Hun Sen the pretext to establish what really would amount to one-party rule.

Asean has said it is watching the political process in Cambodia very carefully but it still dodges the bigger problem of Burma (Myanmar), which it admitted to membership last year. Only the non-Asean nations of Japan and South Korea joined yesterday's call for the junta to stop blockading Aung San Suu Kyi — now immobilised for the fifth day in her car. Already a heroic fighter for the social justice which Asean is beginning to acknowledge, she deserves much better from her fellow-Asians.

## Dear David

The aim is courtesy without peer

**DAVID STODDART** has a point. Correction: Lord Stoddart of Swindon has a point. It can indeed be deeply irritating, especially when one is 72 and in pain, to be addressed as "David" by a hospital nurse one has only

just met. In one's pyjamas at that, which adds to a sense of social disadvantage. But is the doughty Labour peer and Euro-sceptic right in a larger sense? Are the once-reserved British becoming too susceptible to the false intimacy which characterises American social manners?

"Hi, Dave, would you like to share that bedpan with me, Dave? Thanks, Dave, have a nice day", as Lord Stoddart would be greeted on the ward in California. The issue has echoes of the Diana Debate about our collective emotional health and the correct answer is, inevitably, both Yes and No.

We are better for being less stuffy than we were, being more open to our feelings, more willing to express them. Even the growth of tactile habits (is it correct to exchange kisses on two cheeks now, or on four if you are really friends, as in rural France?) has its place, especially within families. But the cult of familiarity is less attractive. If we call Lord Stoddart "David" on first acquaintance, what do we call him when we get to know him better?

The guiding principle of such social niceties should surely be making people feel at ease. In other words, courtesy, an underrated virtue between both friends and strangers as travellers on public transport can attest. Rare indeed is the youngster who automatically gives up a seat for a wrinkle.

Since this is cabinet reshuffle week, a plug is in order for courtesy in politics. A generation ago Lord Home, a 14th earl who was briefly prime minister, was a model of old-fashioned manners for us all, bless him. Today the mantle falls on the 14th Mr Straw. Part of the Home Secretary's welcome success as a minister lies in his unfailing courtesy to colleagues. As Peter Mandelson once wisely remarked: "Government breaks down when courtesy stops." They should paint it over the cabinet room door.

## Letters to the Editor

### The bishops and Beagle 2

**THE** claim that US fundamentalist funding is buying the voices of African bishops is not as outrageous as Andrew Maclean thinks (Letters, July 28). I have little experience of Africa but know that US fundamentalists and their British counterparts are pouring huge sums of money into India to buy sections of the Indian churches.

A year ago, a church of North India priest threatened to kill me when he discovered that I had found out how his publishing organisation was misusing funds from British Evangelical churches. The Lambeth bishops from Africa and Asia may not be as innocently "biblical" as they would have us believe. David L. Gosling, Cambridge.

**AIRCRAFT** personnel are ultra-sensitive to people smoking in the aircraft toilets (Pilot times over smoking in the row, July 28) for the very good reason that the fluid used to flush the toilets is inflammable. Possibly if this information was made explicit, smokers desperate for a tag might think twice before lighting up. Andy Smith, Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey.

**TIM** Radford tells us that "scientists on Earth will use the Beagle 2 space probe to detect the faintest trace of life on a planet" (Scientists seek whiff of life on Mars, July 27). I feel it my duty to warn these scientists that many of the kebab-inspired chuffs from my student days can still be detectable even on the Red Planet. I would hate to be responsible for an erroneous scientific statement that "we are not alone". David J. Lynch, Belfast.

## Net result is impressive

**IT WAS** disappointing to read your non-story about the Internet (Tangled Web, July 28) as a "seething mass of fraud and disinformation". After years of Online hyping the Internet as a middle-class lifestyle accessory — useful for work, educational for the kids, recreational for grown-ups — the Guardian seems to be waking up to what the rest of us have known since the advent of the World Wide Web. That is that the Internet is a chaotic mass of potentially useful information, and it requires a bit more nous than knowing how to click a "search" button to find what you need.

There have been no stories about magazines, newspapers or television as a category being unreliable and error-prone (which they are), because most people have developed the skills to distinguish (for example) between tabloid reporting and broadcast news, and adjust their expectations accordingly. The Internet is something akin to all traditional media taking place at the same time in the same place, but this does not preclude the possibility of being able to separate reliable sources from unreliable ones.

Unless, of course, you've bought into the Internet as a lifestyle accessory and feel that your £35 payment to an ISP each month frees you from the necessity of making such judgments.

Perhaps, however, the current rash of obvious spoofs, fakes and hoaxes doing the rounds on the Web will encourage people to be a bit more critical and suspicious of whatever they read. Danny Birchall, Editor, University of Sussex Information Service.

**IT'S** almost inevitable that an article complaining bitterly about the inaccuracy of a new medium should end up incorporating a few serious howlers; I wasn't too surprised to spot a few in Jonathan Miller's piece. Chiefly, had he read further than the title, he would have learned that the "baby train" story to which he refers in fact revolves around an early-morning train which wakes residents of a housing development early in the morning — often resulting in the patter of tiny feet nine months down the line. Nothing to do with sinister child abductions.

It strikes me as more than a little disingenuous to blame the messenger. One only has

to look at the utter rot that was foisted on the reading public by the then-new technology of chapbooks in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Think of the Web and Usenet as vanity publishing without the books and a great deal falls into place. Joe McNally, London.

**HALF** of the fun of the Internet is traveling through the countless bizarre theories, of varying degrees of reliability. It represents a medium for people to convey their views to a mass audience. With most of the world's broadcast and print media in the hands of an ever-shrinking number of hands, this is a priceless resource.

Has it occurred to Jonathan Miller that what he regards as false may be a true story that the mass media prefers to ignore? Andy Smart, Fairfield, Glos.

**AN ARTICLE** explaining why anyone should believe anything they see on the Net is badly needed. It is interesting. Chris Holden, Preston, Lancs.



## Tuning into the other Radio 3

**PARALLEL** universes do exist, at least as far as Radio 3 is concerned. Everytime people like your writer (The Third Way, July 24) sound off about "new music" they always refer to a Radio 3 never get when I tune in.

Radio 3 has the monopoly on broadcasting new music and it has this obsession with atonal composers such as Boulez and Stockhausen. My recollection is that one piece of Stockhausen, and maybe three by Boulez have been broadcast this year.

This week Radio 3 is playing pieces by only six living composers and only one of these uses atonal techniques with any regularity. Given that Radio 3 is on air 24 hours, this hardly amounts to an "obsession".

Your writer continued: "New composers who write melody have gone into film." Where do you think the person on the Clapham omnibus is most likely to hear "atonal music" if not at the movies and during the adverts? Paul Edwards, London.

Please include a full postal address, even on e-mailed letters, and a daytime telephone number. We may edit letters. We regret we cannot acknowledge those not used.

## The pluses and minuses of Blair's cabinet reshuffle

**FRANK** Field has shown me the Third Way of New Labour: resignation. His proposal for welfare reform was both original and radical. But when social fairness is compared to Treasury cost-cutting, the latter wins; hence Frank's exit.

The problem still remains of a welfare provision that seems to encourage state interference or of a prohibitively expensive private provision, to the detriment of those in need. Ian Boote, Hyde, Cheshire.

**THE** new Chief Secretary to the Treasury, Stephen Byers, let it slip at the 1996 party conference that the Labour/union link should go, and, with Peter Mandelson heading up the Department of Trade and Industry, the CBI have also got a self-confessed Labour/union link-hunter.

We owe it to our members not to allow ourselves to be squeezed out, but to use our

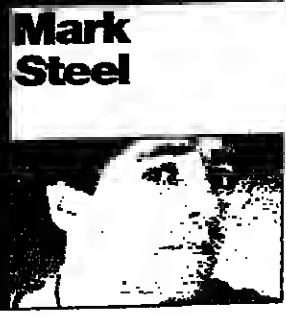
dwindling influence to turn the screw over issues like public-sector pay. Geoff Martin, UNISON London Convenor.

**HOPE** Frank Field is available for work and not content to be laying about on the backbenches at the taxpayers' expense. Perhaps retraining? Trevor Hopper, Brighton.

**STEPHEN** Byers is an excellent role model for primary school children who have failed their Key Stage 1 maths. Will the calculator ban apply to Byers in his work on the national finances? Rodney Hedley, London.

**IT** is preferable to have Stephen Byers, who has difficulty with his nine-times table, at the Treasury or the Ministry of Education? V G Jones, Biddenham, Bedford.

## Class ceiling



**THIS** is modern, Third-Way cappuccino Britain, and it's many years since a person was defined by their class. The Eighties finished that, when surveys proved we were nearly all middle-class because 73 per cent of people asked had eaten a kiwi fruit and 88 per cent of males could pronounce "taramasalata". You were middle-class if you had ever watched BBC2 when it wasn't showing snooker.

and were only working-class if you could shout, "Oy Tyson, get over here" at your pit bull.

But the realities of class may be the reason why so many people are still discussing the documentary, 42 Up, a week after it was shown. Every seven years, the programme-makers have revisited the group of children they first filmed in 1964.

Some commentators have concluded that the programmes show how, compared to the Britain of the first two programmes, today's Britain is a land of social mobility. After all, you can't have a class-divided society unless it's in black and white. And look at Tony, the lovable East End urchin with impeccable working-class credentials, who's grown up to be an Essex cabbie with his own house and aspirations to get the patio relaid; a classic example of changing Britain. But as soon as Tony arrives home in his cab, his wife

takes it back out for the night shift so they can keep up the mortgage payments.

Ex-Oxbridge solicitor Andrew, with a house several times larger, didn't seem to have the same problem. There was no indication that when he arrives home his wife says, "Hello love, give me your wig and I'll hang about by the Old Bailey and try to pick up a few late night trials."

Nor are there many financial worries for public school Suzy who lives in a house that looks like a castle with a tennis court, and is married to a businessman, with an unfeasibly posh voice, called Rupert. He was never likely to end up on a building site, was he? You don't often hear: "Oy, give us an 'and with this has of cement will yoo, Rupert?" With the reply: "One can jolly well leave it out, Terry, one's finishing one's tea." Rupert dismissed the trauma involved in his career change, from lawyer to owning his own company.

Lynne had also experienced a career change. She'd been working in a mobile library, loving the encouragement that her efforts gave to local kids. But the council cut the funding and it was shut down. There wasn't much weighting to be done about her career change, as there was for Rupert. Probably the rich don't understand this, and think that when a plant shuts down it's because the entire workforce has decided "I'm 41, time to take the plunge and opt for a different career."

Lynne had been ill, as is Jackie who heroically fights arthritis to raise three kids on an estate near Motherwell. But the same bet for social climber had to be Nick, who as a seven-year-old was already showing signs of scientific genius. He's published books that appear as a series of indecipherable squiggles which are apparently equations that unlock the mysteries of nuclear fusion. But he

lives in America, like many other frustrated scientists who left in the Thatcher years. And he has considerably less wealth or security than either the lawyer or Rupert, who probably understands just one equation:  $X + Y = Z$  (where  $X$  = public school,  $Y$  = daddy's contacts and  $Z$  = a tennis court).

**NOT** every subject of the documentary, however, had stayed within his or her class of birth. Bruce, apparently set at prep school for Rupertesque achievements, instead became a teacher in a state school where his greatest pride is his bright child sitting "a corner and say: 'We've got great hopes for you. If you carry on producing this excellent standard of work, there's no reason why you shouldn't get your GCSEs, A-levels, go to university and get a degree. Then, with a bit of luck you might end up driving a van.'"

Now the teachers will spot a bright child sitting "a corner and say: 'We've got great hopes for you. If you carry on producing this excellent standard of work, there's no reason why you shouldn't get your GCSEs, A-levels, go to university and get a degree. Then, with a bit of luck you might end up driving a van.'"

compassion, wit, tenacity and variety of skills of the subjects born into working-class backgrounds, none of them escaped the lot they were born with. Instead their talents were regularly stifled by lack of control, lack of confidence, spending cuts and illness.

Which isn't to say that the Britain of today hasn't changed at all over the last 30 years. I can certainly remember how I was caught playing truant from school and was set in a corner by irate teachers who said: "You might think you're clever now, but do you know where you'll end up if you carry on like this — driving a van?"

Now the teachers will spot a bright child sitting "a corner and say: 'We've got great hopes for you. If you carry on producing this excellent standard of work, there's no reason why you shouldn't get your GCSEs, A-levels, go to university and get a degree. Then, with a bit of luck you might end up driving a van.'"

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# Big ideas for little screen

# Arms and the man

# Life and soul at the opera



# Analysis New Labour's females

## Women on top

Diane Abbott dubs it a Boys' Own project. Women now do the fixing but not the spending. But others see Blair's new ministerial appointments as the first serious breach in the male bastion of government. **Lucy Ward** reports

THE feminisation of politics was one female Labour MP's analysis of Tony Blair's first reshuffle. After two days of to-ing and fro-ing by the chosen ones up and down Downing Street, women are revealed to have swept the board in all the organisational jobs the Government has to offer. Anne Taylor batters down the door of a previously all-male bastion as Chief Whip (with, for the first time, a seat at the Cabinet table), while Margaret Beckett takes over her former role organising government business as Leader of the House. Just up the Westminster corridor Lady Jay marks another first for women, as Leader of the Lords. Organisation, of course, is distinct from enforcement — that still gets left to tough guy Jack Cunningham. The changes put women at the heart of government, at least according to the Downing Street spin machine, which has sought to paint a picture of a clutch of powerful females keeping the boys under control. Women's groups, however, are hardly turning cartwheels at the shake-up.

With the sacking of the Secretary for Social Security Harriet Harman — praised by one sympathetic observer yesterday as "the Government's only campaigning feminist" — and the shifting of Mrs Beckett from Trade and Industry, the only women running spending departments are Marjorie Mowlem at Northern Ireland and Clare Short, in charge of a comparatively tiny purse at Overseas Development.

"At the top level, the girls have ended up with the nannying and housekeeping jobs, while the men get the real work," said one disgruntled female backbencher.

Diane Abbott, a leftwing member of Labour's National Executive Committee, summed up the new-look Government top team yesterday as a "Boys' Own project", where none of the great offices of state were under women's command. The jockeying for position between the camps

loyal to Gordon Brown and Mr Blair was "like nothing so much as just William and competing gangs", she said.

Even Ms Abbott, apparently so sick of male domination she could throw a punch, would have to agree that the prospects for women of reaching the upper echelons of government have improved dramatically in the last decade. Margaret Thatcher appointed only one woman — Lady Young — to her Cabinet in ten years, and she stayed for only 18 months. John Major, taking office in 1990, had filled all his Cabinet seats before realising he had carelessly forgotten to include any women. Gillian Shephard was whisked in as Economic Secretary to the Treasury.

Labour wised up to the importance of women-friendliness when in-house research conducted after its 1997 election defeat revealed that voters, especially women, found masculine party images old-fashioned and unattractive, and thought Labour was more male-dominated than other parties. In the same year, a Fabian pamphlet, co-written by Patricia Hewitt — the one new-intake woman promoted in the reshuffle — argued that voters were more likely to trust a woman politician than a man. More research show-

ing that, without women's tendency to vote Conservative, there would have been no Tory governments between 1945 and 1979, led to Labour's concerted attempt after 1982 to feminise the party's image and attract women voters.

With plans for the next election under way, the incoming Labour general secretary Margaret McDonagh, will keep the same goals in mind as she examines new ways to attract party members. Meanwhile, women's groups doubtfully eyeing New Labour's post-general election record on women's issues, make the point that setting the Government's message to women voters is a separate issue from making sure that its policies are genuinely "female friendly" or that women are represented in top-level political posts.

Even the "fixing" appointments trumpeted by Downing Street are no use if the incumbents are not ready to fight for women's interests, say campaigners, who suspect neither the sometimes aloof Mrs Beckett nor the straight-talking, football-loving Mrs Taylor are "one of us". "Frankly I don't think either of them give a toss about women," says one observer. More generous commentators concede that neither has opposed feminising moves, including

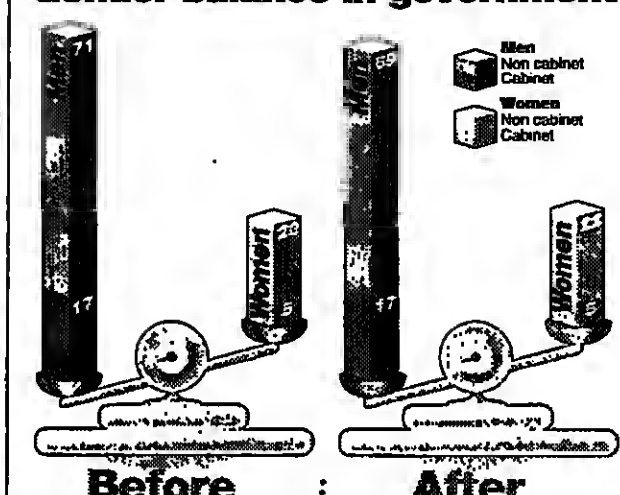
expansion of childcare, urged by Ms Harman in Cabinet. Women's groups including the Fawcett Society are ready to throw their weight behind the new ministers for women, Lady Jay and Tessa Jowell, whose track records on women's health issues in particular are well regarded. "Margaret Jay has the right instincts, the right weight for the job, and the position in the establishment which, whether we like it or not, is quite useful for women. And she's no flaky post-feminist who believes marriage is supreme and divorce is wrong," says one well-placed observer.

The appointment of Ms Jowell to handle women's issues also wins plaudits, particularly since it does away with the absurdity of the unpaid women's minister post held

until this week by Joan Ruddock. But women's campaigners are seething that, though there is still a women's minister in the cabinet, the post is tacked on to another major portfolio.

There is also concern at the fate of the Women's Unit — the clutch of civil servants so far based at the Department of Social Security which is supposed to promote and help to steer through female-friendly policies across departments. Alison Ryan, director of the Fawcett Society, says: "Our view is that the Women's Unit must not be looked at as some kind of Fortknabin in Whitehall which can be shunted around and attached to any convenient department." It appeared last night that the unit would move to the Cabinet Office — seen as a more logical position

### Gender balance in government



**Cabinet**  
Margaret Beckett: DTI  
Harriet Harman: Social Security  
Mo Mowlem: Northern Ireland  
Clare Short: International Development  
Anne Taylor: Leader of the House

**Others**  
Janet Anderson: Whip  
Hilary Armstrong: Minister for Local Government and Housing  
Baroness Blackmore: Minister for Education and Employment  
Baroness Hallett: Whip  
Angela Eagle: Junior minister, DETRE  
Baroness Hayman: Junior minister, Social Security  
Gloria Jackson: Junior minister, DETRE  
Tessa Jowell: Minister for Public Health  
Jane Kennedy: Assistant whip  
Helen Liddell: Economic Secretary, Treasury  
Estelle Morris: Junior minister, Education  
Baroness Jay: Minister for Health  
Bridget Prentice: Assistant whip  
Down Privileges: Financial Secretary, Treasury  
Joyce Quin: Minister for Prisons, Probation and Europe  
Baroness Farnham: Whip  
Barbara Roche: Junior minister, Foreign Office

**Cabinet**  
Margaret Beckett: Leader of House  
Mo Mowlem: Northern Ireland  
Baroness Jay: Leader of the Lords and Minister for Women  
Clare Short: International Development  
Anne Taylor: Chief Whip

**Others**  
Janet Anderson: Whip  
Hilary Armstrong: Whip  
Baroness Amos: Whip  
Hilary Armstrong: Minister for Local Government and Housing  
Baroness Blackmore: Minister for Education and Employment  
Baroness Hallett: Whip  
Angela Eagle: Junior minister, DETRE  
Baroness Hayman: Junior minister, Social Security  
Gloria Jackson: Junior minister, DETRE  
Tessa Jowell: Minister for Public Health  
Jane Kennedy: Assistant whip  
Helen Liddell: Minister of State, Scottish Office  
Estelle Morris: Minister for School Standards  
Bridget Prentice: Assistant whip  
Down Privileges: Financial Secretary, Treasury  
Joyce Quin: Minister for Europe  
Baroness Farnham: Whip  
Barbara Roche: Junior minister, DTI  
Baroness Symons: Junior minister, Foreign Office

### Yo-yo careers

WITH the brutal departure of Harriet Harman from the cabinet, and the simultaneous arrival of Patricia Hewitt in government, comes the latest yo-yoing episode in a feminist double act which has lasted since the two women were worked together in the 1970s at the old National Council for Civil Liberties (now Liberty). In those days, Hewitt — daughter of a senior Australian civil servant, student at Newnham

College Cambridge, wife of left-wing barrister Bill Birles — was the more high-profile of the two. She was general secretary for a decade at the radical NCCL. Harman — related to the Longfords, St Paul's girls school, then York University, wife of TGVU organiser Jack Dromey — worked as legal officer for the same group. Both friends were highly intelligent, middle-class, ambitious and committed. Both chose left-wing hus-

bands: and both successfully combined parenthood and a political career. Both too, had the comic distinction of being targeted by MIS which regarded the NCCL as an "anti-police" communist front.

It was Harman who at first seemed to draw away into the lead. At 32, she won Peckham at a by-election in 1982. Within 5 years she was on the opposition front bench. On Labour's victory, she went straight into the cabinet and was spoken of as a former party leader. Meanwhile, the 35-year-old Hewitt failed to get elected for Leicester East in

1983. She became press secretary to the ill-fated Neil Kinnock, before finding a home first as deputy director of the think-tank, the Institute for Public Policy Research, and then at Andersen Consulting. Only at the last election did she finally get her seat, at Leicester West.

Now, after only a year at the top, "Hattie" is out — for the time being at any rate. And "Tricia", after her short apprenticeship year on the back benches, is in, on the first rung at the Treasury. This is unlikely to be the end of the story for either woman.

Graphic sources: Vacher's Parliamentary Companion; Prime Minister's office online, <http://www.number-10.gov.uk>  
Research: Matt Keating.  
Lucy Ward is the Guardian Political Correspondent.

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# FinanceGuardian

## VW caught out as rival pays only £40m for exclusive rights



Rolls-Royce plc chairman Sir Ralph Robins (left), with BMW's Bernd Pischetsrieder and VW boss Ferdinand Piech

PHOTOGRAPH: LOUISA BULLER

## BMW snatches Rolls-Royce

David Gow  
Industrial Editor

**B**MW yesterday pulled off a stunning coup over its German rival, Volkswagen, by snapping up the exclusive rights to produce the world's most prestigious motoring brand — the Rolls-Royce — for a mere £40 million.

In an extraordinary twist to a nine-month battle between the two German groups for a brand-name synonymous with luxury, VW conceded that it had ended up paying £479 million for the less-renowned Bentley marque.

Yesterday's deal, signed at 7am on a deserted Bavarian golf course, came just three weeks after VW completed its purchase of Rolls-Royce Motors, makers of both brands, from Vickers. At the time it

had trumped a £340 million offer from Munich's BMW.

However, at a news conference in London yesterday, the new deal, which splits the Rolls-Royce car producer in two, was unveiled. Until January 2003 VW will build the Bentley and Rolls-Royce ranges at Crewe, with engines and components supplied by BMW.

After that, VW will build just Bentleys, with plans to expand output to 10,000 cars a year, including around 7,500 new mid-size cars to rival top-of-the-range BMWs and Mercedes. Crewe will be home to Bentley Motor Cars.

BMW's chairman, Bernd Pischetsrieder, has undertaken to produce new Rolls-Royce models at a new plant in England.

Both German chairmen pledged that the two marques would retain their best, and British, characteristics, in-



cluding the Rolls flying lady emblem, the Spirit of Ecstasy. A sheepish Ferdinand Piech, VW chairman, was effectively forced to admit that BMW had outmanoeuvred him by initially cancelling contracts to provide engines and compo-

nents for Crewe, including the Rolls Silver Seraph and Bentley Arnage. Doubts about Rolls' future had led to a 30 per cent drop in orders over the past six weeks, and Mr Piech conceded the situation could have become catastrophic.

The ultra-ambitious Mr Piech, who wants VW to rival the US and Japanese car producers, also found he faced a protracted and costly legal battle to acquire the rights to the Rolls-Royce brand-name — owned by the separate aero-engine manufacturer of the same name.

With BMW leaning on Rolls-Royce plc to extract an exorbitant price for the brand, VW never made a bid to acquire the rights. Though Mr Piech admitted he would have paid far less if he had discussed the issue of the brand name with outmanoeuvred him by initially cancelling contracts to provide engines and compo-

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### Notebook

## Marques made on golf course



Mark Milner

**T**HE circumstances surrounding the signing of the deal to carve up Rolls-Royce into its constituent marques appear as bizarre as the contents. The peace treaty settling the long-running battle between BMW and Volkswagen over the luxury car maker apparently was signed on a near-deserted golf course well before most of us were considering breakfast.

To add a dash of intrigue, BMW's Bernd Pischetsrieder and VW's Ferdinand Piech were accompanied by Gerhard Schröder and Edmond Stoiber, the minister presidents of, respectively, Lower Saxony and Bavaria. Their presence is bound to raise speculation of a political fix. While Mr Schröder could at least plead that his state is VW's biggest shareholder, Mr Stoiber had no such excuse. Perhaps he just likes to gloat.

Certainly a touch of Schadenfreude would be justified. There is no doubt that it is Bavaria's BMW which has come out on top. BMW will get the rights to the Rolls-Royce name (in exchange for a £40 million payment to aero-engine maker Rolls-Royce) while VW, for all its big talk and bigger spending, gets the less well known Bentley brand, and the Crewe car plant.

Mr Piech protests that in Bentley he has got what he wanted anyway. That looks thin, if Bentley was the real prize then he could have got away with paying less by doing a deal with BMW earlier. Methinks he doth protest too much.

Although Mr Pischetsrieder is clearly the winner in the battle for Rolls-Royce, he would be unwise to break out the champagne yet. Just as he and Mr Piech were making up, BMW's arch-rival, Daimler-Benz, announced — with a sense of timing that can hardly have been coincidental — that it too is entering the top-of-the-range wars, with the £106,000 Maybach.

German interest in the luxury end of the market is beginning to look overdue.

relative high interest rates. Just how much each adds to sterling's value is a moot point but clearly at least some of the support points are weakening. Economic growth is no longer looking robust.

On the contrary. Manufacturing is on the floor, the service sector is slowing. Indeed, the economic outlook is such that any further rise in interest rates is likely to undermine the pound, rather than bolster it. Not much point in buying sterling on yield grounds if interest rate levels are driving the economy into the ground. With sterling at its current level, recession has to be a self signal.

So where does the monetary policy committee go from here? It might actually be worth while considering lower rates or at least calling the top of the cycle. After all, if higher rates do put the screws under the pound then the anti-inflationary impact the tightening the monetary screws was designed to achieve, would be lost.

Cutting rates and thus easing some of the pressures within the economy might help to keep the pound steadier or any decline that much shallower and more manageable. The snag is, of course, that lower rates might not send the right message on the earnings front.

### Brown's plea

**T**HE Chancellor, Gordon Brown, yesterday sought to breathe new life into his initiative to reduce the burden of debt for the world's poorest countries. In a speech to the Lambeth conference, he was both fervent and eloquent.

He quoted Martin Luther King's stricture that we are all part of one moral universe and John F Kennedy's reminder that if a free society cannot help the many who are poor it cannot save the few who are rich. Debt relief, he said on his own account, was "a matter not just of dispensing charity, but ensuring justice prevails".

Of course Mr Brown chose to speak on a theme suited to the conference he was addressing. Yet for all that, it is hard to avoid the feeling that he was having, in effect, to restate a message he has already delivered.

It is not that the message does not bear repetition. The worry is the sense that Mr Brown is concerned that his words are not getting through to the movers and shakers in the world's wealthiest countries.

Politicians, of course, are familiar enough with dialogues with the deaf. But can the rich world really be deaf (and blind) to the problems of a region, to quote Mr Brown: "in which 280 million can barely move their heads because of hunger, [a] part of the world where 30,000 children die every day from preventable diseases and where 1.3 billion, two thirds of them women, are in poverty?"

Mr Brown will be putting that question to the International Monetary Fund meeting in October. On past form, don't hold your breath.

## Status cars that compete with yachts

### The market

Nicholas Bamister

**V**OLKSWAGEN is planning to tear up the luxury car market rule book with its plan to build 10,000 Bentleys a year.

Conventional motor industry wisdom says that exclusivity is one of the main driving forces behind the sale of super-luxury cars.

Rolls-Royce and Bentley cars have a certain cachet because there are so few of them. Fewer than 2,000 were sold last year.

If you flood the market with Bentleys, so the argument goes, you will diminish their status value. And status is what the luxury car market is all about.

Fifteen years ago City

whizz-kids were rewarded with then relatively rare and expensive BMWs. Now BMWs are two a penny and the City wunderkind wants something more exotic.

However, the UK luxury car market, taking in such cars as the BMW 7 series, the Mercedes "S" class and Jaguars as well as Rolls-Royce and Bentley, has grown sharply over the past five years — from 10,572 in 1993 to 15,699 in 1997 — while still accounting for only 0.72 per cent of the UK car market.

A Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders spokesman said luxury car sales were not as vulnerable to economic fluctuations as less practical luxuries such as jewellery and boats. Company purchases account for a greater proportion of sales in the luxury and executive car sector than in other sectors of the market.

Sir Colin Chandler, chairman of Vickers, the former owner of Rolls-Royce Motor Cars, noted last year that Rolls-Royce and Bentley cars were competing not with other cars but with paintings, yachts and race-

### The premier league

How the market breaks down

#### Super-luxury cars

Rolls Royce Phantom	Bentley Azure	Rolls Royce Phantom
£155,000 upwards	£215,000 upwards	£100,000 upwards

#### In the second rank

Rolls Royce Phantom	Mercedes S600	£102,500
Rolls Royce Phantom	BMW 7 series	£75,000
Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom	£102,500
Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom	£102,500
Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom	£102,500
Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom	£102,500
Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom	£102,500
Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom	£102,500
Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom	£102,500
Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom	£102,500

#### And for sporty types

Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom
Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom
Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom
Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom
Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom
Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom
Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom
Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom
Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom
Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom	Rolls Royce Phantom

#### Rolls Royce Phantom

horses. Rolls-Royce and Bentley also have a longer life than most other vehicles.

The company estimates that six out of each 10 cars it has made since it was founded by Henry Royce and Charles Rolls in 1906 are still on the road.

## Brown's Rover theory refuted

### Productivity

Charlotte Demery

**R**OVER blamed the strong pound for its latest round of redundancies at the company, the Chancellor, Gordon Brown, countered by pointing the finger at British workers' poor productivity. Now, economists at one of Britain's top business schools have leapt to the defence of British manufacturers.

While Mr Brown and the Bank of England's monetary policy committee are concerned that manufacturers are giving their employees large wage increases at a time of stagnant productivity, research from the London Business School shows that official figures are understating productivity.

"Manufacturing has been unfairly targeted by the MPC," said Paul Robson, one of the report's authors. "They've earned their wage increases."

According to the Office for

National Statistics, manufacturing productivity, which is the amount of output produced by each worker, has risen by only 0.8 per cent a year since 1994, while, according to the latest earnings figures, wages are growing by more than 5 per cent a year.

But Mr Robson and his co-author, Neil Blake of the LBS, say the Government's figures underestimate productivity growth, because of a change in how the ONS measures manufacturing employment.

Using estimates based on the CBI's quarterly survey of the sector, they find that the number of manufacturing workers has been shrinking since 1994, which means the amount of output from each has been growing faster than official figures suggest.

According to their figures, productivity grew by 2.7 per cent in 1996 and 3.2 per cent in 1997.

The authors say the real culprit is the services sector, where productivity has been lower than official estimates suggest and which is still largely unaffected by higher interest rates.

### The message

**T**HE pound's three pence fall yesterday in response to the latest, depressing business confidence survey from the Confederation of British Industry illustrates the problem facing policy makers.

To the agony of manufacturing exporters in particular, sterling has been held high for getting on for two years now by three factors: safe haven status as most of the rest of the European Union currencies head for monetary union, the performance of the economy, and

## Railtrack faces tough price controls to prevent 'rip-off'

Keith Harper  
Transport Editor

**R**AILTRACK was given a strong warning yesterday to expect much tougher price controls after 2001 to make sure "the public is not being ripped off".

The warning came from rail regulator John Swift who said prices he sets for the five-year period after 2001 "will remove any excess profit" not genuinely attributable to improved efficiencies.

His office said that if it came to the conclusion that Railtrack had under-delivered, Mr Swift might look at a retrospective clawback.

Mr Swift's comments had no impact on Railtrack's shares, which fell by 77p on Monday in expectation of his announcement. Yesterday they put on 130p to 154p. Analysts said the regulator's

tougher regime was three years away, giving investors plenty of time to benefit.

In a consultation document, Mr Swift tells Railtrack that he is seeking to establish "the minimum sums necessary to finance the functions of an efficient operator".

The wording suggests that he will reject Railtrack's plan for a lenient review to allow it to fund other projects, such as the Channel tunnel rail link and the London Underground. Mr Swift said he would use its flotation value as the basis for the company's "official value". Railtrack has seen its market capitalisation go from £1.8 billion at privatisation in 1996 to £7.1 billion. The lower the official value, the lower the return Railtrack may make.

Railtrack's finance director, Norman Broadhurst, said he was surprised by the decision.

## Best of British may be moved to Bavarian base

### The future

Nicholas Bamister  
and David Gow

**B**MW may be forced to manufacture its new Rolls-Royce cars at an established Rover plant or ultimately transfer production overseas, despite the pledge yesterday by its chairman, Bernd Pischetsrieder, to in-

vest in building new factory in England.

Industry sources suggested that BMW, Rover's owner since 1994, may invest up to £300 million in a production line for Rolls-Royce at its new Hams Hall engine plant in Warwickshire rather than at the Longbridge factory in Birmingham, which retains a reputation for poor quality and is geared to mass production of the new Mini.

The Land-Rover factory in

Solihull is said to have no space for expansion after the successful introduction of the Freelander model. But the Cowley plant, now known as Rover Oxford, could accommodate a new line and, until recently, built bodias for Rolls-Royce.

Mr Pischetsrieder refused to detail the likely scale of investment and job prospects at the new plant. The biggest problem he faces is that out-

next century will be so low — even compared with the fewer than 2,000 Rolls and Bentleys now produced at Crewe — that it could struggle to make profits.

Rolls production would fit more readily into BMW's Bavarian plants, which supply some 50 per cent of the components for Rolls and Bentley cars assembled at Crewe.

But the last effort to build Rolls overseas — at Springfield, Massachusetts, in the

1920s — failed when customers balked at buying non-British models. Ferdinand Piech, chairman of Volkswagen, would guarantee only to keep production at Crewe for 10 years.

Mr Pischetsrieder's pledge to keep Rolls British-made came as Rover confirmed to its unions it plans to shed 1,500 jobs and cut output of its models, apart from Freelander, by 40,000 this year to £20,000. Formal negotiations between the

two were adjourned to mid-August, but Walter Hasselkus, Rover's chief executive, agreed to meet union leaders on Friday to discuss his proposals, including plans for a four-day week.

Tony Woodley, TGWU national automotive secretary, last night questioned BMW's plans for a new Rolls plant. "You can't have Bentley without Rolls-Royce. The two should be built on one site, at Crewe."

### TOURIST RATES — BANK BELLS

Australia 2.857	Germany 2.977	Malaysia 8.85	Singapore 2.78
Austria 20.14	Greece 478.55	Netherlands 3.2255	South Africa 10.14
Belgium 82.22	Hong Kong 12.47	New Zealand 3.14	Spain 202.50
Canada 2.42	India 70.425	Norway 12.18	Sweden 13.78
Cyprus 0.84	Ireland 1.1315	Portugal 281.32	Switzerland 2.41
Denmark 11.00	Israel 5.088	Saudi Arabia 6.11	Turkey 431.000
Finland 5.881	Italy 2.844	US dollar 1.6114	
France 9.597			

Supplied by Reuters (excluding Japan, sheet of and military)

مكتبة الامير















Ullrich bares his mountain steel, page 14

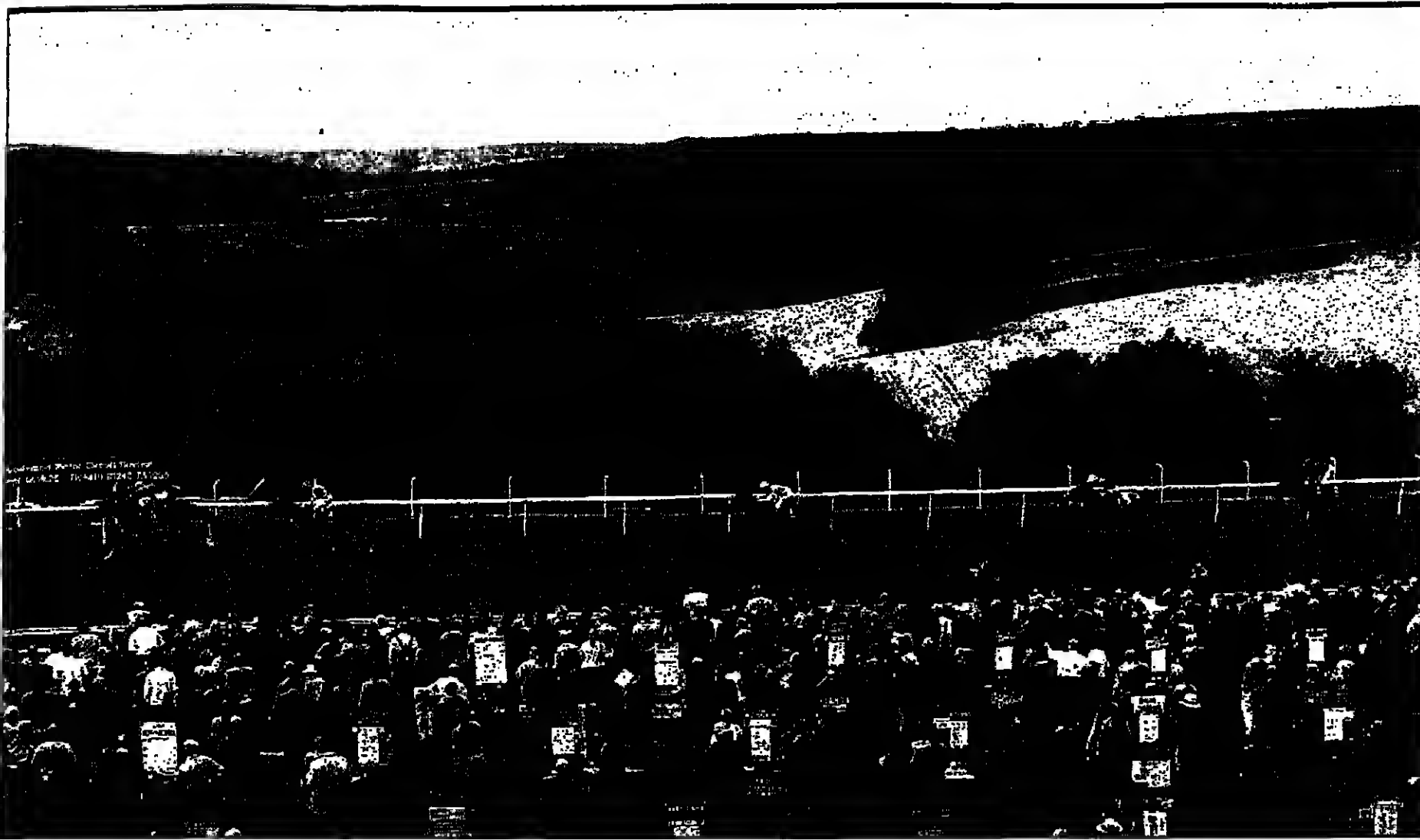
Brazil show Zagallo the door, page 14

Warwickshire fans turn on Lara, page 15

Atherton leads the victory chase, page 15

## SportsGuardian

## Glorious Goodwood



Too close to call... Rabah, ridden by Richard Hills, and Nedawi (Frankie Dettori) battle out a first-race dead-heat amid spectacular surroundings yesterday

ADAM BUTLER

## Love affair that is always a joy

Laura Thompson is entranced by the serene spread of Sussex countryside on the first day of racing's stunning summer festival

THE Flat race season is like a clever lover. It always knows what you want next, far better than you yourself do, and by anticipating your desires and attuning itself with subtlety to their rhythms, so it keeps them ever satisfied.

It knows, for example, that after the emotional exertions of Epsom, what you really want is a frivolous flirtation with Royal Ascot. Similarly it knows that after the monumental midsummer climax of last Saturday's King George VI and Queen Elizabeth Diamond Stakes, you want nothing so much as a long, laid-back drag on horse racing's equivalent of a post-coital cigarette.

You want, in fact, five days of Glorious Goodwood, the place where grown-ups go for their summer holiday.

The start of that holiday is truly precious. Arriving at a racetrack is always a joy but Goodwood gives you something beyond the mere thrill of expectancy. Even without the benefit of sun it is profoundly beautiful: a serene spread of Sussex countryside, a patchwork of green and gold and amber upon which the track is delineated only by an insignificant white fence.

In short, it is a sight to uplift the heart even of a bookmaker who has just laid seven winning favourites.

Indeed, such is the sense of peace that it induces that the racing itself seems affected.

The horses look so small, so much a part of the natural landscape, that one perceives their movements as if in a benevolent trance. Races seem to unfurl like a slow streamer, and crucial items such as tactics and jockeyship become mere incidentals.

Even when the action is at its most dramatic — as in the extraordinary dead-heat in the race that opened the festival yesterday, the Gordon Stakes — the impact is somehow diffused, lost in the midst of these vast, calm undulations. Not that it is any less enjoyable. It is simply that the eye, being too beguiled by the broader canvas, does not focus in the usual way. That stiflingly close identification with the spectacle that one

gets when horses come round, say, Tattenham Corner is impossible at Goodwood.

In fact the whole place generates a diffuse rather than dramatic atmosphere. In that sense the "Glorious" part of the festival's name is somehow inappropriate: it conjures images of cheering and flag-waving, as if the Last Night of the Proms had been transported to the Richmond Enclosure. Yesterday nothing could have been further from the reality.

At times it was so relaxed that it was as if the air had been impregnated with hashish. People wandered about leaving trails of bonhomie behind them, languidly yet purposefully getting on with the serious business of having a good time.

Goodwood is indeed a holiday for grown-ups, and this is really what grown-ups love about it. Wandering about in that great open-air palace of delight, the thought occurs that most sporting events seem to demand that their spectators revert to a state of childhood. At football matches grown men weep

over results like thwarted three-year-olds, wearing replica shirts as if to say "When I grow up I want to be Dennis Bergkamp". At tennis tournaments mature women squeal like bobby-soxers and buy postcard representations of Patrick Rafter. Everywhere

Races seem to unfurl like a slow streamer as tactics and jockeys are mere incidentals

people too old to die for their country dress themselves in tracksuits, rumper suits and dayglo Lycra. Regression is in the name of the game.

But at race meetings, and especially at grown-up Goodwood, the name of the game is taking adult pleasure in adult style. People dress like a child's idea of a grown-up:

bat heels, suit tie. People smoke, and fill the bars with thick accretions of decadence. People drink. People gamble. People spend money, people lose money, work harder than they ever do in the office studying form trying to win money. People dedicate themselves heart and soul to an adult's true vacation vocation: the pursuit of fun.

Paradoxically, it is perhaps because of this that you find, in your worldly heart, an easy space for the truly childlike pleasures of Flat racing: the sight of horses running across the Sussex Downs, for example. Real grown-ups are never afraid to be innocent and the Goodwood crowd is, in the main, heart-warming proof of this.

"Bugger, I've done my money," said the man alongside as the favourite gave way lamely to the two horses that dead-heated in the Gordon Stakes.

Then he smiled stoically, as adults must. "Never mind. Brave pair of boys, weren't they?"

Racing, page 13

## Samaranch denies a softer approach to drug taking

Duncan Mackay

THE International Olympic Committee president Juan Antonio Samaranch has denied softening his stance on performance-enhancing drugs.

Michael Knight, Australia's minister for the 2000 Olympics, spoke to Samaranch as he arrived at the Olympic village in Sydney over an interview in which the 78-year-old Spaniard said athletes should be able to use "harmless" drugs that improved their performance.

"Mr Samaranch assured me the IOC's campaign against drugs in sport would continue with full determination and vigour," Knight said.

"Regarding the comments attributed to him purporting to draw a distinction between performance-enhancing drugs and those which don't, he made it clear he believed there were no performance enhancing drugs that did not cause harm

to athletes' health."

The IOC medical commission's vice-president Jacques Rogge also moved to downplay suggestions that Samaranch was softening his stance. "I think there is a lot of misunderstanding about what he said actually and the way it was printed was a little bit inaccurate," Rogge said.

According to Rogge, Samaranch merely wanted to see if the list of banned drugs could be simplified and is still "a keen defender of the fight against doping."

"The fundamentals of the fight against doping are the protection of the health of the athlete and establishing a fair competition and banning performance-enhancing drugs."

Meanwhile Primo Nebiolo, president of the International Amateur Athletic Federation, has said that any sports that refuse to back key moves to standardise anti-doping rules at a world conference in January could be face expulsion from the Olympic Games.

Jonathan Freedland, page 8

**The new Baroness Young is of Old Scone — despite the august title and the fact that she spent her childhood on the Earl of Mansfield's estate outside Perth, she is not of blue blood.**

Paul Brown

Society, G2 page 12

## The old flame tarries again as the new gutters and dies



Paul Weaver

BEFORE the Olympic Games came to be seen as a junket for junkies, before Juan Antonio Samaranch started popping principle-diminishing drugs and before athletes started their build-up in the bathroom and finished competition counting the profits, the flame occasionally burned high and bright.

Fifty years ago today the 1948 Olympics, the Austerity Games, were opened at Wembley Stadium by King George VI. Today more than 100 veteran British athletes will return to celebrate the anniversary of one of the greatest of Games and to salute the spirit of men like Pierre de Coubertin.

It is a pity that Samaranch, who has succeeded De Coubertin as International Olympic Committee president, via the likes of Avery Brundage and Lord Killanin, cannot make it to London. But the man who championed the commercialisation of the Games is now too busy bungling his line on performance-enhancing drugs.

The words of Samaranch, under whose leadership the Olympic Games have ceased to be the major event in the sporting calendar, lay in ruins within 48 hours of their being uttered. They were immediately ridiculed by Monday evening's suspension of two leading American athletes, Randy Barnes and Dennis Mitchell, and undermined by other important members of the IOC.

Samaranch would have discovered a health risk of his own at Wembley today if asked to clarify his remarks to a body of ageing athletes for whom liberation and goodwill were the salient emotions in those 1948 Games.

Don Bradman's cricketers could muster, Clem Atlee's administration was in its radical pomp, teams were running in London and post-war rationing was still in force.

Dorothy Tyler, who had won a high jump silver at a Surrey teenager in the previous Olympics in Berlin in 1936 and returned to win another at Wembley, remembers the rationing.

Tyler, who will be at Wembley and who between her medals drove an RAF lorry for the Dambuster Squadron, says: "I was not on the probable list but those who were received food parcels from some of the Commonwealth countries."

"When the teams were selected we were given extra ration cards. My husband used to go for my meat ration hoping to get more because he was a man." Tyler also competed in the Helsinki (1952) and Melbourne (1956) games. Today she is 73 and a keen golfer.

Jim Halliday, who won a lightweight bronze in the weightlifting, prepared for the Olympics as a Japanese prisoner-of-war and returned to Britain weighing only six stone. With two months to go before the Games athletes had their milk, butter, margarine and meat rations increased. Before that some herring fishermen on the east coast each provided a weekly box of fish for competitors.

EMIL ZATOPK, who won three gold medals in the Helsinki Games, first made his Olympic mark in London, with a 10,000 metres gold and a 5,000 metres silver. Everyone knows he was a great runner; few remember that he was a great man too.

The Australian Ron Clarke, 18 times a world record holder but never an Olympic champion, was befriended by Zatopek in Czechoslovakia some 30 years ago, after the Mexican Games. "When I left, Emil took me to Prague Airport and handed me a small package, whispering to me that I should not open it until I was out of Czech airspace. He added: 'This is not out of friendship but because you deserve it.'"

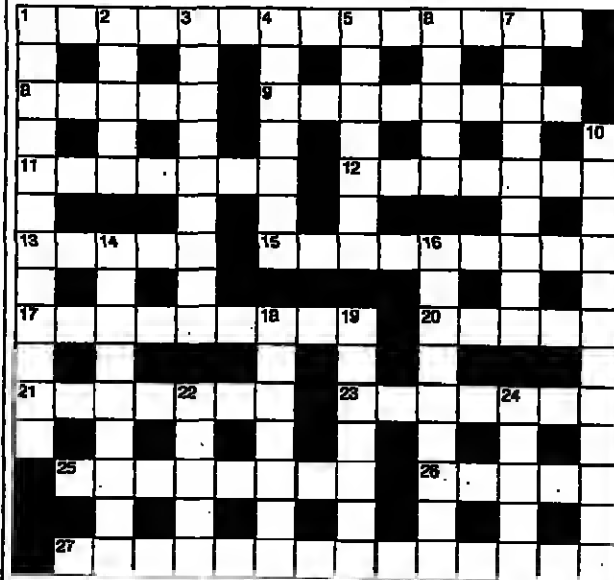
"I was worried I might be smuggling something out for him. The plane had not been flying very long when I retreated to the lavatory and unwrapped and opened the box. There, inscribed with my name and that day's date, was Emil's Olympic 10,000 metres gold medal. I sat on that toilet seat and wept."

The greatest star of all in 1948 was the "Flying Dutchwoman", Fanny Blankers-Koen, now 80. She returns to Wembley today to refresh memories of her four gold medals. The 50-year-old mother of two had been written off before the competition.

"The spirit of the Olympic Games tarries here awhile," read the Wembley scorecard at the closing ceremony. It is a pity it does not tarry awhile in the modern Olympics movement.

## Guardian Crossword No 21,339

Set by Araucaria

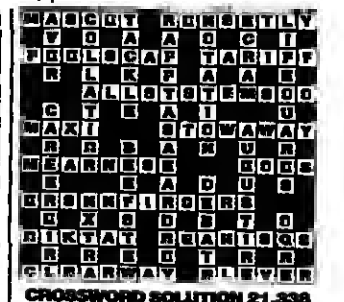


Across

- 1 The L of Lucifer was Shaw's work (6,8)
- 8 Scottish girl painter embraced by cat (5)
- 9 Cat litter (king size?) (4,4)
- 11 No way to drink a quick medicine (7)
- 12 Golden string presently needs method of investigation (7)
- 13 Measure used by Joseph, Ahab, etc (5)
- 15 Write a book with a rubber stamp? (9)
- 17 Infernal sort of end for French comedian (5)
- 20 I across's swift about-turn (5)
- 21 Islander with a heart of flesh to make ice endlessly (7)
- 23 French boy married and started again (7)

Down

- 1 Masked appearance? 24 25 in the end — come off it! (6,6)
- 2 Pathogenic man in Latin America (5)
- 3 Piece of wood or big bird: I'm talking too much (9)
- 4 See 18
- 5 Empty vessels — see and hold forth about it (4,3)
- 6 A tooth of 25.4mm is unknown (5)
- 7 Debutante that's in currency in Bucharest is invoked in Paris (2,3,4)
- 10 Having cooked best end, dined with an encumbrance (12)

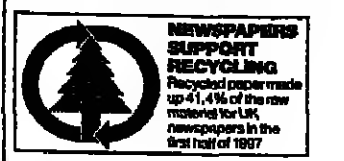


CROSSWORD SOLUTION 21,338

- 14 National maybe Roman poet held service without a fault (5,4)
- 16 Composer of flat — another one (5)
- 18 4 20's problem was Shaw's work (7,7)
- 19 Learning to love a far country before a lover of Shakespeare (7)
- 22 Cultivation of the soil until the evening (5)
- 24,25 Result of strike on a body: a number fall after sneezing twice (2,3,4,4)

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£100,000 +	7.00%	7.00%	6.79%
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£10,000 +	6.70%	6.70%	6.51%
£5,000 +	6.60%	6.60%	6.41%
Up to £5,000	6.50%	6.50%	6.32%
Midland Instant Access Savings	All Options Gross CAR	Annual Option Gross	Monthly Option Gross
£50,000 +	6.25%	6.25%	6.08%
£25,000 +	5.75%	5.75%	5.61%
£10,000 +	5.25%	5.25%	5.13%
£5,000 +	5.00%	5.00%	4.89%
Up to £5,000	4.50%	4.50%	4.41%
Deposit Account (7 days notice) (No longer sold)	Half Yearly Interest Gross CAR	Half Yearly Interest Gross	
£50,000 +	6.25%	6.17%	
£25,000 +	5.75%	5.68%	
£10,000 +	5.25%	5.19%	
£5,000 +	5.00%	4.95%	
Up to £5,000	4.50%	4.46%	

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